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# The South Atlantic Quarterly.

## Editorial Announcement

With the present issue, *THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY* completes its eighth volume. The first three volumes, and the opening number of the fourth volume, appeared under the editorship of Dr. John Spencer Bassett. Beginning with the April, 1905, issue, and concluding with the July number of the present year, four and one-half volumes have been published under the joint editorship of Dr. Edwin Mims and the writer. With the current number, the *QUARTERLY* loses the valuable editorial services of Dr. Mims, who is just beginning an extended period of residence and travel abroad, prior to assuming the duties of a chair at the University of North Carolina. Though no longer actively identified with the editorial conduct of the *QUARTERLY*, Dr. Mims will continue in the future to be a contributor to its pages and to have a lively interest in its success.

The writer of this note is perhaps in a better position than any other to appreciate the importance of the services Dr. Mims has rendered to the *QUARTERLY* during the past many years. Beginning with the first number of the first volume, he has been a constant contributor of articles and book reviews. Since the period of his editorial services began in 1905, he has been unsparing in his devotion of time and energy to the work. Though constantly engaged by his duties as a teacher and by personal literary undertakings, no detail of the management of the *QUARTERLY*—editorial or business—has been too small to command his attention and interest. His wide acquaintance with scholars and publicists has enabled him to secure many notable contributions for this journal. His resourcefulness and enthusiasm have aided in surmounting many difficulties. The good wishes of friends and associates, as well as those of readers of the *QUARTERLY*, will go with him in his months of well-earned recreation and travel in foreign lands.

It is, however, the great good fortune of the QUARTERLY to be able to announce that Dr. William P. Few, Dean and Professor of English in Trinity College, has consented to become one of its editors, beginning with the current number. Dr. Few has been closely identified with the QUARTERLY from its inception, being a contributor from the first number, and constantly participating in its management. In the many articles which he has published from time to time, he has approached the educational and other social problems of his native South in a constructive spirit and in the light of the best modern thought. What he has had to say has brought about wide discussion and has exercised an effective influence for conservative progress.

In the re-organization of the QUARTERLY's management, Professor Robert L. Flowers, of Trinity College, who has been for some years President of the South Atlantic Publishing Company, combines the offices of President and Treasurer. Professor Flowers has been an esteemed contributor to the QUARTERLY's pages, but the periodical has been more especially indebted to him for supervision and direction of its business management. The business problems connected with the publication of a journal of this character are at times difficult, and the services of Professor Flowers in dealing with them have been most valuable.

The spirit and aims of the QUARTERLY will continue as during the past eight years. It seeks to avoid any note of provincialism. It desires to keep its pages open to the candid discussion of historical, literary, economic, political, and other social questions. It trusts that all of these matters will be approached in a spirit of urbanity and helpfulness. The QUARTERLY bespeaks the continued interest of both Southerners and Northerners who have something to contribute to the social discussions of the day, and it hopes for a generous measure of support from the community of cultivated readers.

W. H. G.

## Constructive Educational Leadership\*

BY WILLIAM P. FEW

Dean and Professor of English in Trinity College

A gifted young friend of mine, who was graduated from Trinity College some time ago, like so many others began his career as a school teacher. He taught successfully for two years when suddenly he quit, saying that he was tired of teaching other people's children, of pouring his life into other lives and preparing them for successful achievement, while he himself had no part in the great tasks of human society. This conception of the profession makes of the teacher a mere school keeper, a member of society not much higher in his function than the maid in the nursery and little different from the pedagogue among the Greeks and Romans, whose business it was to attend the children of his master and combine in mild proportions some sort of instruction with the purely physical oversight of the children. It is this idea of the weak passivity of the profession which gives occasion for the oft repeated sneer that "he who can does, he who cannot teaches." The idea is rather widespread, I fear, and is doing the cause of education as much harm as any other single thing today.

Over against this conception I wish to set the doctrine of the teacher as a worker at the hard tasks of society, as a builder of civilization who, if he be efficient enough, may become a constructive, transforming influence and power like Livingstone or Socrates or Moses. Ideas and ideals are after all the greatest forces in civilization, and from educators and those they educate must come this high leadership of ideas and ideals in the service of the republic. The measure of the teacher's influence is not the amount or quality of intellectual pabulum that he may dole out to docile children, but the sort of guidance he gives to individual minds and to communities, and the moral energy that he succeeds in producing. The low estimate in which the teaching profession is held will pass, when there is in the profession a

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\*In substance, an address delivered before the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, Morehead City, June, 1909.

considerable proportion of men of this shaping and transforming influence and power, and likewise women who have the constructive helpfulness and intuitive wisdom that will enable them to deal successfully with children as well as with whole communities. This type of teacher is our chief need, rather than technical training, professional standards, and higher salaries, important as are all these. The presence in the profession of a considerable number of such teachers will, in due time and without forcing, bring, if not the wage, at least the dignity that ought to belong to one of the most useful of all occupations.

Men and women of originating and shaping power are needed in all times, but they would seem to be especially needed in times of rapid growth; and there do occasionally come times in the history of nations when the ordinary processes of national development are superseded by more rapid methods and when civilization goes forward at a bound. Such an epoch was the Elizabethan age in England; such an epoch came to New England in the middle decades of the last century; and in such an epoch, I believe, we are living here today. In spite of all misgivings, most competent men, actually at the work of rebuilding Southern civilization, believe that we are standing upon the very threshold of a new era. The belief itself, even if it were not so amply justified by the facts, would tend to produce the expected result. An age of hopefulness is apt to be an age of achievement.

We are living, then, in a time that is rich in promise and full of hope; and we are engaged in a profession that should not only hand on the torch from the past to the oncoming generations, but should also furnish guidance in that process of readjustment and rebuilding which every progressive age must carry on. In what ways may we, at this particular time and in this particular place, best give this service of constructive leadership?

Our civilization must rest upon the secure foundation of widespread material prosperity and well-being. And this widespread prosperity and well-being in our Southern States depends now, and I hope always will depend, peculiarly upon agriculture. Agriculturally, as in so many other ways, we have scarcely begun to be what we are destined to become. The task of improving the agricultural conditions of this region ought to lie heavily upon teachers, urban and rural, elementary and advanced, and



upon schools high and low. The practical application of the sciences, trained experience, and educated public opinion ought all to be brought to bear upon this task of improving rural life. This improvement involves the restoration of the soil, the building of roads, delivering mails, establishing schools, strengthening churches, and altogether making the conditions of rural life more wholesome and attractive, thus bringing back something of the former dignity of the country as opposed to the town. The boy from the farm nowadays goes to clerk in a village store, and feels that he has advanced in his social standing and business opportunity. It was not always so. In the old South the planter took social rank above the tradesman and shopkeeper, just as in England still the landowner is held in high esteem. I am not concerned to see revived the arbitrary social importance of the English country estate or even of the old Southern plantation; but I do wish that this generation should understand the opportunity and duty of getting the most out of the soil, not by exhausting it, to be sure, but by constantly improving it. And in this fundamental part of the rebuilding of our ancient commonwealth I wish to see education lead, not "follow, as they say, for reward."

We are coming also to be a manufacturing State; and this, too, is well, for any people is to that extent better off for having varied industries. But whether this industrial gain is in the long run to promote the good of the whole people, will depend upon the success with which we overcome the evils that grow up around manufacturing centers everywhere. Along with their material benefits the rapidly multiplying cotton mills of the State are creating a new set of problems in the settlement of which the school has its place. Ample provision for the proper education of children, and various lines of social and betterment work for adults, are already furnishing in some of the mill villages more improved conditions for living than the average Southern community enjoys. But there is still much to be done in inducing a more enlightened management of the unprogressive mills; in the working out, step by step through actual experience, of the hard problems of factory life; in building up a public opinion that will not sustain the irresponsible demagogue who for his own advantage seeks to array one class against another class; and in

making this public opinion equally hostile to the selfish capitalist who has his eye always on the interests of the stockholder and cares nothing for the welfare of the laborer.

This whole problem is new in North Carolina and is being created by the new industrial order upon which we are just entering. We must work out the problem for ourselves, in the light, of course, of the experience of other States and other countries; but, equally, of course, in view of our own actual conditions. And this is just one phase of that larger question, the relation of capital to labor, which is agitating the more populous and wealthy sections of this and the other nations of the world. We were for a time sheltered by our isolation. But we are today being swept into the great currents of American life with all its perils and responsibilities; and we are being forced to take our share in the settlement of national questions. Along with the rest of the country, we are face to face with the difficulty of finding a way to be fair to capital and at the same time just to labor. Institutions of education, if they are manned by teachers, and in turn send out graduates, of ability and fairmindedness, ought to do conspicuous service in the final working out of this most baffling problem of the age.

Within a brief half century, the part of the country in which we live has been exposed to the shock of civil war, the complete overthrow of the old *régime*, the nightmare of reconstruction, all these followed by long years of convalescence, and now, thank Heaven, by a period of rapid growth. The process of normal, orderly development has thus been interrupted and sent violently "spinning down the ringing grooves of change." This structural break with our past and this startling succession of events have made particularly important and particularly difficult the political readjustment of this generation, and the right mediation of the present between our past and our future. On the one hand we are told, almost vehemently, that we must be true to our past, must respond in unbroken solidarity to the old-time shibboleths and traditional political leadership; and, on the other hand, that we must divide, that it is always better for a State or a nation to have two parties. Amid the warring voices that are already heard in the land and that are sure to grow louder as the years go on, what shall be the attitude of mind of those who

ought to guide in every onward movement of this changing age? Need we be either reactionaries or revolutionists? I do not believe that by precept or example we are going to seek to tie this generation to the dead past. Nor do I believe that we will break completely with that past and seek to build up a society that may seem to be ideally good but that is completely divorced from our history. We are not going to be blind adherents of the past and we are not going to be mere opportunists seeking a temporary gain here and there wherever it may be found, but without any guiding principles of thought and conduct. In this period of political unrest the leaders of the minds of men ought, by considerate public discussion and by conscientious use of the franchise, to bring into our public life a spirit of perfect fairness and honesty, and ought to create a moral necessity that each man shall do his duty exactly as he sees it, free from any sort of coercion through inflamed public opinion, through social ostracism, or through any other means.

Upon those who are to lead this generation in the things of the mind and the spirit rests the further duty of mediation between the religious conservatism of this region and the great intellectual ferment of the age. Again our problem is to keep the good of the old and adjust it to the needs and conditions of the new time. No phase of our problem of readjustment is more delicate or more important. Material progress, enlightened government, and popular education are not enough to insure our well-being. If in our eagerness to progress in these directions we neglect the cause of religion, we shall be like the foolish man who cut off his right hand in order that the left hand might be strengthened. We need and shall always need to cultivate a virile and aggressive religious faith, if we are to have a stable and vigorous civilization; and it is highly important that we shall make education and religion mutually helpful and both contributory to human progress.

These are all difficult undertakings (I could mention a good many others), and each one is rendered more difficult by the indifference and outright opposition of certain sections of the public. Those who are comfortably resting in their indifference and those who, through ignorance, prejudice, or selfishness, oppose progress, are in the habit of saying that the preacher should "preach the gospel" and the teacher should take no part in disputed questions.

To break down this indifference and to overcome this opposition can never be the work of "docile bairns of knowledge" or humdrum pedagogues. It calls for men of insight, enterprise, daring, and for women of tact, patience, resourcefulness. The true benefactors and heroes of every society are those who do its difficult tasks. And the highest approval of the public will be best earned, and in the long run most surely won, by the teachers who courageously and wisely apply originating and constructive ability to doing such things as are most needed to be done in the communities in which they live and work.

But even aside from these public duties there is abundant room for the use of the teacher's enterprise and originating faculties in the narrower field of formal education, in the completion of educational organization, the perfecting of educational machinery, and the infusing of a life-giving spirit into this perfected mechanism. In proposing to educate all the people, this country is, under the circumstances, entering upon the most stupenduous project that any nation in all history has ever undertaken. And we cannot afford to fail; for the perpetuity of democratic institutions and the survival of democracy itself demand the proper training of all classes of people. This necessity for popular education is coming now in North Carolina to be widely recognized, and the new demands make a new and insistent call for farsighted leadership. I can only touch upon the larger aspects of this great question of education, leaving out of account the multitudinous details of educational reform.

We are undertaking to provide universal education; and what is meant by universal education? So far as I can see, it does not mean that educational processes will ever, fallibly speaking, be so perfect or so perfectly adjusted to all kinds of individuals that everybody will be adequately trained. Universal education can mean no more than that there shall be accessible to every child the advantages of the elementary school, the grammar school, and the high school; that at each of these three stages the instruction shall be as perfectly adapted to the needs of the pupils as human ingenuity can devise; that each of the three grades of instruction shall not only provide what the pupil needs at that stage of his development, but shall lead up to the next stage; and that, for the benefit of those who can continue their education, there shall be

the same sort of articulation between the high school and the college. To put within reach of every child the opportunities of the elementary school, the grammar school, and the high school, is the main concern of universal education; and in this supreme task every bit of strength the State can command from all sources should be concentrated. In this undertaking every enlightened man and woman, no matter what his or her particular views may be, can in one way or another take part. To consolidate all the forces in the State for this purpose and to utilize them so as that the largest and most beneficent results may follow, is a beautiful vision of the future, that with us all should abide and command. But this vision, like every other beautiful vision that implies the perfectibility of human society, looks far to the future. To establish schools wherever they are needed, to provide competent teachers, and to enrich and perfect the school curriculum is a work that calls for the best wisdom of this generation. The establishment of schools and supplying teachers will require time and the liberal expenditure of money. We all realize, I am sure, that a most difficult undertaking awaits us in the working out of a school curriculum. Whatever this curriculum may finally be, there is one thing it must do. The instruction in the elementary school must be equally good for those pupils who will enter the grammar school and those whose schooling ends at the first stage; the instruction in the grammar school must be good for those who will enter the high school and those who cannot; the instruction in the high school must be adapted to the needs of those who can go on to college and of those who must go immediately to work. Any school course that does not supply this condition will be fatally defective; and the condition is not impossible of fulfillment, for there is a vital unity in all sound education.

The mere proposal by a state or nation to educate all classes of people must have an enlarging and liberating influence on the character of those who propose it. To seek the widest good and love the widest joy is an ennobling aspiration; and to undertake to make the benefits of education universal must tend to develop nobility and greatness in individuals, in states, and in nations. And if it is successful, universal education is bound to increase enormously the efficiency of the country; for to train all, and to give room to all for the fullest development, not only raises the

general average, but is the one certain method to find the most capable. This is the kind of natural selection that democracy is to use, and it is the only law of the survival of the fittest that can be permanently tolerated by a humane society. The purpose to promote universal education is one of the most encouraging features of our democracy.

Higher education has been carried on longer in the State, and the colleges are better equipped for their work than the mass of public schools. (Under colleges I include all the higher institutions of education). With the industrial revival and the new educational impulse of the present, I believe our colleges have a rare opportunity to do for this generation a formative and lasting service. I am not sure, however, that the colleges are fully living up to their opportunities. I shall call attention to three particulars in which reform appears to me to be most urgently needed.

A glaring defect of American civilization is our national mania for bigness and blind faith in numbers. The true college is the home of excellence, and one would expect that the college would be the last place to be affected by the vicious doctrine of numbers or the fatal confusion between bigness and greatness. And yet higher education is threatened by just this danger; and from this source, I think, come some of our most serious evils. At least ten years ago every college in the State should have taken the chances of reduced numbers and refused admission to all students who had not completed a high school course. I should not speak of this now, if I felt sure that there had been made an end to this evil. It has been reformed indifferently, no doubt; it should be reformed altogether. It is just as injurious to individuals, just as destructive to schools below, just as subversive of discipline and fatal to any thoroughgoing system, to admit to college, students who have not completed the high school course, as it would be to admit to the high school, students who had not finished the grammar school course. Without the perfect articulation of high school and college we can never have a system thoroughly organized from top to bottom, and without such a system we can never have genuine educational progress. It seems to me the only reason why this reform cannot be had at once is the unwise desire on the part of colleges for ever increasing numbers.

Insufficient control in the colleges, and especially the excessive desire for numbers, have led to the wild exploitation of athletics, from which the whole country is suffering. I believe heartily in athletics, when properly carried on; but every one of us, who has considered the question at all, knows that there are athletic evils in North Carolina colleges that cry aloud for reform. And athletic abuses are closely bound up with the lack of intellectual and moral discipline and the general looseness of undergraduate life, concerning which complaints are coming from all quarters today. In many American colleges these evils are partly due to the too rapid growth of the colleges and their inability at once to adjust themselves to changing conditions. It sometimes looks to me as if we might be in danger here of deliberately adopting some of the evils that curse other sections and from which circumstances have kept us free.

The craze for bigness brings another evil in its wake, and that is, the resulting tendency for colleges to be concerned primarily about their immediate interests—more students, bigger buildings, increased appropriations, larger gifts—rather than give themselves whole-heartedly to the service of great causes. This kind of striving must benumb the noblest aspirations and make impossible the truest success of colleges; for colleges, like men, are subject to the immutable law of greatness through service.

In addition to schools that fit our youth for the life and work upon which they are to enter and also prepare for college such as can continue their education, and in addition to colleges that send out their graduates trained and matured in body, mind, and character, we need a small number of professional schools with standards for entrance and for graduation as high as are maintained in the most progressive sections of the country. To no professional school, whether law, medicine, divinity, teaching, technology, should the entrance be easier than to the A. B. course of the best colleges. For the so-called learned professions the admission requirement in the stronger institutions should be not less than two years of college work. The time has come in civilized countries when no man should be allowed to enter one of these professions without adequate and thorough preparation. The creation of proper standards for all the professions is a direct product of a rational system of education.

Then, too, some such organized system will be necessary before plans for popular education can be carried on successfully or on a sufficiently large scale; and the perfecting of such a system is one of our first duties. But no one, I suppose, thinks that any organization is of much value except in so far as it furnishes the means by which competent men and women may work effectively. Unquestionably the teacher's best opportunity to build enduringly is in constructive teaching. The one sure way to promote the causes that I have spoken for tonight and others equally important that, doubtless, have suggested themselves to you while I have been talking, is to build progressive ideas into the mind and character of the youth of the State. Those who have command of this source of power must not mistake themselves or be mistaken by others for innocent pedagogues and school keepers. Affording, as it does, opportunity for the exercise of first-rate ability and for useful service, life for us, we ought to feel, is not a weak and passive thing, but a great and noble calling.



## A New Suggestion on the Race Problem

BY ERNEST G. DODGE

Whatever may be the final status of the American negro and whatever the ultimate measure of his now latent capacities, we, his teachers in a school of which he is a compulsory pupil, are treating him ill if we confine him perforce to a partial self-development, denying him in any great field of human activity the right to grow through experience and exercise. And not only is such a teacher unjust, but he is selfishly shortsighted, for life is richer for all of us when environed by people who "can" than when by those who "cannot."

Yet this is precisely the policy now dominant. Americans of African blood are enjoying fair opportunities for exploiting whatever pedagogical, theological, or medical abilities may be theirs, a more limited but yet considerable chance to develop industrial ability, but no opportunity at all worth mentioning for training and awakening the freeman's power of self-government. And yet self-government is an older attribute of man than medicine or pedagogy, older even in a sense than industry, and ought to have an early place in the rational education of any backward people.

To deny that the school of experience in which political capacity is developed (the school which has created the difference between Englishmen and Russians or between the Swiss and the French peasantries) is indeed closed to our black fellow citizens would be superficial. For, although a limited number, South as well as North, place their votes periodically in a ballot box, real training in self-government is almost as completely absent as if they left their ballots to rot in a hollow log in the woods! Self-government implies the exercise of a real power, the actual settlement of a disagreement with one's peers, and a train of good or evil consequences of which the voter may feel himself the responsible cause and from which he may learn wisdom. It implies also the possibility that the voter may himself be called upon to meet the grave responsibilities of office holding and to enjoy the personal development of character which naturally comes with it. All these things today the ballot brings to the dominant race and fails to bring

to the negro, compelled as he is to march tagtail in the political procession, in it but not of it, even where the suffrage itself is not restricted.

Of course there are difficulties to consider before we attempt to give the negro the same genuine discipline in the bearing of political responsibilities which is serving to educate all other American manhood; for no trying over again of the unhappy experiments of reconstruction times would be tolerated by the men of today. But, if the negro, at the South especially, cannot have an harmonious and fruitful share in the white man's ballot box, why has it never occurred to the minds of constitution makers to give the negro a ballot box of his own? Such an arrangement would be strictly in harmony with the policy of the South on other matters touching the black race. The South has said by law that there shall be no intermarriage; the negro must not seek a place in the white man's family circle. But the right of a negro to have a family life of his own is universally recognized, and the purer and cleaner this life can be made, the better for the whole community. The South has also said that in public schools there shall be no co-education of the races, and the right of the white child to a school where he is exempt from association with those socially repugnant to him shall be safeguarded; but the equal right of the black child to have, in his separate way, the privileges of public schooling is recognized by the laws of every Southern State. Many States have gone still farther and have forbidden the black man to ride in the white man's car, but this does not mean that he is forbidden to patronize the railroad; a separate car or compartment is provided for him. It is only in the matter of government that a different course has been pursued, the dominant race deciding, when it became evident that an open ballot box for all was at present inimical to peace and prosperity, that a freedman and his children must practically be denied all the benefits of political life.

The objection will perhaps be raised that while separate families, separate schools and churches, and separate coaches are entirely practicable, there is and can be but one government in the community. But let us see how far this objection holds. There is already a small beginning of separate politics, growing out of the school district. The two races vote separately for school trustees, selecting them from their own number, and some-

times the races tax themselves to build or equip the schoolhouse. This local government is a most wholesome thing as far as it goes, for, even granting that colored school trustees often perform their duties ignorantly and that better teachers might sometimes be chosen if a white board had the power in their hands, yet on the whole the present system is the better, since thus not only the children but the whole community, of voters, patrons, and taxpayers is at school, learning the primary lessons of human government.

Now the first and most obvious way to carry the foregoing principle farther would be to let the races elect separate state school superintendents, and separate county superintendents in all counties having a specified number of school children of each race. The colored people would be able from the start to furnish one or more men in each county fairly well equipped for such duties, and the establishment of this office would not only give the more aspiring men of color the stimulus of one more opportunity for an influential and useful career, but would give the voters a sense of responsibility in casting their ballots which they can never gain when voting, if at all, only for candidates not distinctly their own. Among the other county officers there are many, of course, such as judge, sheriff, prosecuting attorney, treasurer, and clerk of the court, whose duties could not well be divided between two officials, but the assessor of taxes and the judge of probate (in States having a distinct officer for probate duties) might not improperly be elected in duplicate the same as school officers.

Still further applications of the principle are possible. The members of a Southern State legislature are now voted for by most of the whites and a fraction of the blacks, but they really represent the whites only; and they do not even represent the whites as to the whole range of their political beliefs and interests, but chiefly as to the one fact of their fear of "negro domination." This one issue leads most of them to stand together under the lead of a single party organization, which may not at all represent their views on other issues. Southern white men ought to have the privilege of electing representatives from their own number for whom they, and no one else, have the lawful right to vote, and when that right is granted them it will become possible

for a Southern white man to be a Republican or Populist, or the leader of a bolting Democratic faction, without being charged by the best elements of the community with being a traitor to his race.

But to the foregoing proposition there is a corollary. If the white man should have representatives who are peculiarly his own, elected without disturbing influence from the (to him) alien element of the negro vote, then fairness, constitutionality, and policy alike demand that the negro shall have his own representatives in whose selection negroes alone shall have a voice. The number of these should be determined in advance in proportion to the actual civic importance of the two races, and at present a perfectly fair allotment would give the negroes quite too few representatives to endanger the supremacy of the more cultured race, yet even these few would give the colored man a political training and sense of dignity of which he cannot dream under present conditions.

Let us see how such an arrangement would work out in practice. Suppose that by some State constitution fifty out of one hundred members of the legislature were divided between the races in proportion to their total assessable property, twenty-five in proportion to the total number of land owners, and the remaining twenty-five in proportion to attendance upon the public schools above the primary, and suppose further that in the State in question this should result in a division of ninety-two and eight. Then the State would be divided into ninety-two white districts and into eight colored districts of larger size, each containing one eighth of the colored population. Directing our attention chiefly to the latter, there is no doubt that the negro voters would develop in their district a vigorous political life, involving primaries, conventions, stump speaking with discussion of candidates and issues, and the organization of factions which would locally have the effect of political parties, liberal and conservative, even though both might retain the one national party name which is sacred to the negro mind. The advantage of giving the negro this guaranteed though limited representation would be manifold. It would save the white population from an undue and intolerant sense of importance, as well as from all dread of a disastrous negro rule. And it would save the colored population both from

a sullen feeling of oppression and from a too exalted notion of the scope of its proper rights, at the same time giving an experience of priceless value in operating the forms of self-government.

Although the above method of districting, based on lines of racial unity and not on mere geography, would be a novelty on American soil, it is not without good precedent. The brown natives of New Zealand were long ago divided into four districts, each of which returns one member to the provincial parliament.\*

Of course, the writer in making the foregoing suggestions is aware that he is putting forth ideas somewhat new and unfamiliar, to which many objections are likely to be urged, but none which he can foresee appears so weighty as the radical objection to continuing present methods without change. It is both a pitiful and, for all classes, a dangerous thing when one-half of an otherwise self-governing community is reduced to the position of a cipher in acknowledged influence, and it can be justified on grounds of necessity, only when our imperfect methods of representation afford no other means of giving due ascendancy to the moral majority as distinguished from the mere numerical majority. But the plan herein suggested provides for such a sifting and segregating of votes that the ballots of free men shall really be weighed as well as counted.

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\*Mr. Dodge informs the *Editors* of the *QUARTERLY* that his interesting suggestion for the political representation of the negro was originally drafted without knowledge of the plan for Maori representation in New Zealand. He later learned of the New Zealand practice and inserted the above paragraph. Mr. Alfred Holt Stone also makes reference to the success of the New Zealand system in his "Studies in the American Race Problem," pages 381 and 382.

## A New Southern Poet, Stark Young of Mississippi

By L. W. PAYNE, JR.

Instructor in English in the University of Texas

Stark Young, of Mississippi, has published two small volumes of verse, "The Blind Man at the Window"\* and "Guenevere, A Poetic Drama."† It seems worth while at this time to examine the work in the first named volume, partially for the sake of the performance in itself, but more for the promise which these initial efforts hold forth. By good fortune, since the removal of Mr. Young from the University of Mississippi to the University of Texas as a member of the teaching force in English, we are privileged also to examine some of his later manuscripts, and thus to realize in part the promise as set forth in the printed work. At some later time it may be desirable to take up for closer study the "Guenevere," but our present purpose forbids us to do more than merely mention the theme. The poem is an ambitious effort in a field already made glorious by the names of some of our greatest poets, and it is to Mr. Young's credit that he is not utterly eclipsed in his first appearance. He has followed Malory closely though not servilely. Some incidents not touched upon or at least not adequately treated by any of the other poets, notably Launcelot's last visit to the queen and her death at Almesbury, have been fully treated here. In this work, Guenevere, the woman and queen, is given a nobler treatment than in Malory or elsewhere. The conflict of flesh and spirit in a nature finely sensitive to passion and yet broadly moral, is the theme that the poet sets himself to work out.

"The Blind Man at the Window" is made up of some sixty poems, covering a wide range of subjects, and illustrating not only the writer's skill in technique, but his extended knowledge of both art and life, and also his catholicity of taste and interests.

\*"The Blind Man at the Window and Other Poems," by Stark Young. The Grafton Press, New York, 1907.

†"Guenevere, A Poetic Drama," by Stark Young. The Grafton Press, New York, 1907.

There are nature poems and love songs, literary lyrics and ballads, reflective and personal poems, themes from classical myth and medieval romance, and poems on occasional subjects or topics of the times. No unusual meters are found, but many of the ordinary types of lyric measures are practiced; the sonnet particularly is given a large share of attention. Some of the more ambitious themes are treated in blank verse. Though not noticeably marked as an affectation, there is a certain freedom and originality of phrasing and a boldness in the practice of occasional irregularities and variations from the normal types of verse,—a freedom and boldness that mark the strong hand.

The nature lyrics are uniformly set on human emotions, the most prominent being, as might be expected, the melancholy love motive. There are something like fifteen of the shorter poems that might fall under the general rubric of nature lyrics. Though there are better examples of Mr. Young's lyric art, the opening song of the volume will fairly illustrate the qualities of this type of his work:

"The birds troop black across the sky,  
Their wings are many, the sky is one;  
The little lamps come twinkling out  
After the lordly sun.

"The yellow lights lie on the hill,  
The lights are gone, the hill doth bide;  
O love, the fancies in my heart  
Go roaming far and wide,

"And golden dreams come gleaming by;  
The dreams are many, my heart is one;  
The hill is dark, but love brings light  
After the day is done."

There is a sort of sentimental gloom or luxurious sadness even in this hopeful song; and here we find the dominant tone of nearly all of Mr. Young's nature and love lyrics. The lonely call of the whippoorwill, and the soft, melancholy coo of the dove, furnish the dominant note not only in these poems, but in most of the other poems of the volume. The lyric addressed to the whippoorwill is one of the gems of the collection. It opens particularly well, so well, in fact, that the last half is somewhat disappointing.

"Lo, again there in the wood  
And shadows of leaves he sings,  
And out of his secret covert  
The night air softly brings  
His long wail, under the hill  
'Whippoorwill!'"

One cannot fail to note here that delicious quality of vague yet appealing emotion which is associated with such wonderful lyrics as Wordsworth's "To the Cuckoo." In my opinion this song of Mr. Young's deserves to be placed beside the very best of American bird lyrics.

Again the sad undertone is prominent in "Last Leaves." I quote entire this little bit of almost perfect workmanship in miniature:

"When I pass out  
Let me not be a broken leaf that dies  
And falls at night down through the inmost gloom,  
But catch the color of the evening skies  
And drift out on the after-glow and bloom,  
As I pass out."

There are, of course, reminiscences of other poets distinctly felt in reading many of these nature songs. Without the pathos and universality of sympathy expressed by Burns in "To a Mouse," Mr. Young, in a poem under this title, draws almost the same lesson which the Scotch poet draws in the last stanza of his song. The setting and material of the two poems are different, Mr. Young apparently expressing the greater inquisitiveness of the more modern point of view; but the comparison of the two poems is not greatly to his advantage. Likewise in "Swallows" we have the thought that Tennyson so beautifully expressed in "Flower in the Crannied Wall," and again the younger poet suffers in the comparison.

In all this work there is something of the young gladness of spring, something of the mellow ripeness of summer, but much more of the melancholy sadness of autumn. A sort of dreamy, listless longing, a yearning after things that are not, permeates the songs. The rich coloring and the quiet calm and peace of the dying year, the splendors of the setting sun, the black clouds of birds of passage, the steady fall of dreary rain, and mingled with all, the memories of lost words and departed friends and gone



days, give to every page that tinge of poetic sadness which makes us recall Shelley's line,

"Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought."

But the melancholy note here is that of youth, not that of embittered age. It is the sadness which one delights to yield oneself to, the luxurious, assumed sadness which pacifies rather than depresses. It is not the less to be valued because it is assumed, for it is the poetic instinct seeking expression. The yearning soul must find relief—must find an atmosphere suitable to its expansion. Hence the autumnal season with its "melancholy days" is the fittest mood for the young poet.

Nature is one source of Mr. Young's inspiration; man is another. He is not content to seclude himself as a worshiper of nature, a devoted high priest of "these beauteous forms," and allow them to lead him to "the still, sad music of humanity" and to the "something far more deeply interfused." He loves the society and fellowship of man and courts the discipline which comes from the struggle for survival. He loves his solemn, melancholy nature musings, and, like Wordsworth, he often goes apart to sit "the length of half a day" upon some "old gray stone," or lie for hours upon some stubble hill with his face upturned to heaven. But he loves the strife and strain of real life as well. He is so young in years and buoyant in spirit, that he thinks never to grow old. He seeks to sound the joys of enthusiastic youthful friendships, of love, of society, of life in all its relations, even unto death. The "Ode in Mississippi's Troubled Hour," read before the Alumni Society of the University of Mississippi, June, 1904, amply illustrates his interest in questions of the times. Even if somewhat unpoetic, this historico-political essay is a dignified and serious treatment in verse of the negro question and the responsibility of the solution of this question as it devolves upon the men of the South. "The Seekers" portrays the vast unrest of that mad rush and wild search for knowledge, especially in its application to Deity and the origin of things, so characteristic of our age. The "Dead Shore" pictures the hordes of humanity seeking to solve the problem of death and eternity. "The Last Letter" touches upon the tragedy of a woman's life lost through unfaithfulness or unworthiness of her idol. In other poems, Mr. Young plays upon the tenderest chords of life, such as mother love, sister love,

child love, friend love. The child's lament for the mother who died almost before the days of clear remembrance is the theme of one of the truest of the longer poems. This sacredly personal poem, "Written at My Mother's Grave," in spite of some obscurity, in spite of a few lines of commonplace moralizing, will, in my opinion, bear favorable comparison with Cowper's immortal elegy, "On the Receipt of My Mother's Picture Out of Norfolk." After many years have passed, after many foreign climes have been visited and many strange sights looked upon, the child, now grown into manhood, comes again home—

"To fill

My weary eyes with my own native scene.  
And now once more the spring brings everywhere  
The warm southwind; these quiet trees are green,  
And all along the ancient graveyard wall,  
Amid the tangled sedge, the daisies bear  
Their crowding stars. . . .

Listen! the dove's voice

In the distant brake sounding her sad pain,  
Sadly I hear, and in her mournful note  
I catch the measure of my sorrow's strain."

The final scene is beautifully painted and with a sure and deft stroke:

"The Mississippi hills are blue and faint,  
The air grows stiller and the sounds more sweet,  
The gray shades cluster round each marble saint,  
And in the long box walks the shadows meet.  
And on your grave, rich-ripe with golden days,  
Nasturtium cups are lit with level rays  
From the low-sunk sun. Still would I be a child,  
And come with flowers here for your dear praise,  
And with *Good morrow, Mother*, pause to tell  
The marvels of the day—nay, nay, I know  
I only fancy, mother, ere I go  
To say *Farewell forever, and farewell.*"

But for the somewhat involved expression at the end, one would be inclined to rank this passage as really great poetry.

Mr. Young's philosophy is somewhat cheerless. To him death means "Farewell forever, and farewell," and no more. There is not, I think, in all his work one single thought that is hurtful, one single low ideal of life, one single slur at "the faith that maketh faithful," one single attitude of disrespect towards things

holy or sacred. He has clear conceptions of Deity and the divine in human life, but he is weak in matters of pure faith. He recognizes in Christ's teaching and personality strong impulses toward the ideal life, but he is frankly repelled by modern churchianity and medieval theological luggage. In one long poem called "Abner the Nazarene, to Cæsar Plinius Cæcilius Secundus, Proprætor of Pontus," (Showing that the year without Christ is void), he sets forth the story of an early Christian who had publicly foresworn Christ, but who could find no peace or happiness until he had unsaid his oath and stood ready to die for Him who had made "a long putrid heart to throb again to life." But somehow the poem fails to grip one, fails to make the mighty impress upon the deeper impulses of life which a similar poem of Browning's, such for example as "An Epistle, Containing the Strange Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," always produces. It is Matthew Arnold rather than Browning that Mr. Young follows in his philosophy. An example of this Arnoldesque philosophy, done in the master's own clean-cut, classic, intellectual, and almost faultless verse, may be seen in the following lines which I am privileged to quote from one of Mr. Young's latest manuscript poems:

"Dear unto me the solitary star  
That hangs white-breasted o'er the silent plain.  
Silent beneath, the long road faint appears,  
Stretching across the dusky field. And oft,  
Intent upon the scene, my reverie  
Discovers dim a farer on that road.  
Alone he walks forever, and doth seem  
To draw from some strange land unto some home  
He fain would reach. And then I go  
Comparing with this lonely traveller  
The human race, its shadowy birth and death,  
And the remembrance of the eternal years  
And buried centuries and living days,  
Till in the closing night my sinking thought  
Loseth its track beneath the unanswering stars."

The poem which gives the title to the volume under consideration is divided into two parts, "Morning—Joy," and "Evening—Contemplation." The first picture is almost faultless in technique, but the second is somewhat marred by obscurity and involved and incoherent structure. It must be added, however,

that the conception is eminently poetic in its entirety, and that there are lines and images of transcendent beauty in both parts. The sonnet on the same theme, set as an introduction to the longer poem, is far more finished in its form and structure, and hence far more satisfactory to the critical reader.

"I saw a blind man at his window sitting  
At dusk, and always his poor eager face  
Turned upward where the sweepers voiced the space  
And rustled all the dim air with their flitting.  
He could not see the wind move o'er the ground,  
Nor the faint yellow light upon the hill,  
But only leaned his poor hands on the sill  
To draw the lovely evening from the sound.  
Dear God, within this window to the sky,  
From shadowed chamber of our life we watch,  
Likewise eager and blind, and haply catch  
Now airy strain or angel wing brushed by,  
Or silence rich from the glory of the day,  
And, sightless, only hear and feel and pray."

The pathos of the blind man looking blankly out upon the beauty of the world has appealed strongly to Mr. Young. In addition to these poems he has in manuscript an exquisitely pathetic and intimately human lyric on "The Blind Musician" (Whom I met in a lonely country between Austin and Credemore).

Passing now from the reflective group of poems, we come to those pieces dealing more directly with art; and here we find Mr. Young at his best. The poets of the past, the artists, the musicians, the great souls of the race, take hold of him vitally. The realm in which Mr. Young finds himself most at home and the one in which he expresses himself most satisfactorily is that of classic myth and medieval romance. In the appreciation and interpretation of music and poetry, especially the works of such masters as Chopin, Spenser, the Elizabethans, Coleridge, Keats, and Tennyson, he finds his chiefest delight. The shadowy realm of King Arthur is above all this young poet's favorite demesne. The "Ballad of the Table Round" is full of rich reminiscences of Malory's story and Tennyson's music. "To a Little Blue Flower in Cornwall" is likewise but a passing in review of the world of King Arthur. "Lines Written at Tintagel in King Arthur's Country" are again suggestive of the powerful appeal that all this poetic material has made upon Mr. Young. And here we may remark

that Tennyson's work in the same field has been the inspiration of much of our poet's best work. Tennyson's method of search for the phrase, of ornate decoration and luxuriant elaboration of the thought, of polish and finish, and of sensuous musical effects, is Mr. Young's method also. It is more perhaps a similarity of method than a direct imitation, but one cannot fail to note the Tennysonian echoes in a passage like the following from "Lines Written at Tintagel:"

"Yet who knows but that tournaments do hurtle  
In the moony air, that everlasting strife  
'Twixt good and evil, shaking the spirit world  
As ours. What spirit of the wind may bring  
His might to wrestle here with direr shapes?  
On what night may come hither Arthur the King,  
With his jewel-hilted brand Excalibur,  
Living the gone glories of his time?  
Or like a vision Guenevere the queen,  
In mystic ceremonies of white samite clothed  
Goes trooping with her maidens through the fields  
Of sleep. Or Sir Garwain comes pallidly," etc.

The lesson which Mr. Young draws from all these dreams of the old pure days of Arthur is,

"Though  
Our work is humbler and less slow to end  
Than theirs, teach us 'tis not the work man doth  
But the spirit that he bringeth to the work  
That makes the greatness. Oh, stir our blood  
To boast great thoughts and deeds, and take the issue  
Be it dungeon, bower, or the broad  
White road of fortune, and let the new  
Ideals that the masters of this age  
Have helped to point shine clear for us as once  
The holy vessel of the Sangrael."

With these two passages before us we may pause to point out some of Mr. Young's faults. The worst of all faults, and the one pre-eminently characteristic of the young writer, namely, obscurity, we must admit occurs not infrequently in these pages. There are vague or rambling thoughts, incoherent musings, sounding vagaries, scattered here and there. This is the outcome, perhaps, of too much moralizing and philosophizing—an indication of a "reach beyond his grasp." On looking over the chief offenses in this kind of writing, we see at once that the

worst blemishes can be remedied by a simple device, namely, careful pointing. Examine, for instance, the first of the two passages just quoted. An interrogation point should fall after *ours* in the fourth line. The ninth line, beginning "Or like a vision, Guenevere," would be improved by the insertion of commas, as would also the tenth line by a comma after *clothed*. In the eleventh line the structure is completely changed, and where we would expect *Go* with an interrogation point after *sleep*, we have *Goes* and a period. In the second passage likewise one may see the need of closer pointing so readily that there is no need to stop to particularize. Some of this, no doubt, is due to printers' errors or poor proof-reading. Wherever the fault lies, the fact remains that vagueness, incoherency, and ineffectiveness at vital moments are the result of this laxness in punctuation.

But when one has said this, one has said the worst there is to be said about Mr. Young's work. After all, the point is mainly one in the mechanics of writing rather than in the art of poetic composition. These poems are as clearly above mediocrity as were the early efforts of Keats. In fact, there is much similarity between the style of our author and that of Keats in his juvenile work. With a difference in degree, of course, there is to be found in Mr. Young's work the same genuineness of feeling, the same poetic insight, the same sensuousness, the same love for medieval romance and classic myth, the same elevated thought, the same skill of technique, which gave promise of a greater Keats.

In addition to the suggestive influences in the way of literary antecedents already mentioned, I must not omit to notice the marked influence of the classical Latin and the Italian poets upon Mr. Young. Among the Italians, Dante has, of course, often struck fire from our young poet, but the writers to whom Mr. Young owes most are Leopardi and Carducci. He is himself glad to admit the powerful influence of these poets upon him. Among the Latin poets, Virgil may stand prominently, but it is Catullus that has meant most and helped most.

I have delayed speaking of the poems on classical themes because, in my opinion, it is here that we find the surest technique and the clearest thought in all the book. It may be because of the influence of the classic models that one notices so readily these qualities in this group of poems, but I rather choose to

think it is because the author has been more definite in his planning and more careful in his revision. "The Return" is an emotional transcription of the beautiful faith of Ulysses in the constancy and love of the fair Penelope, expressed as the wanderer comes back in sight of his native shore. "Orpheus" is the familiar story of the adventure in Hades for the restoration of Eurydice. In technique and structural excellencies, and in passion also, this poem is the finest thing in the volume. The story rises into pulsing emotion toward the close. The lover has won the consent of Pluto to yield Eurydice, but the god warns him that

"The fruit of great love should be strength. Therefore  
Look thou not backward when she followeth,  
But keep thine eye fixed to the purpose hence,  
Or else this love, this tower of thy strength,  
For all the wonders it hath worked in hell,  
Will fall by its own weight."

\* \* \* \* \*

"But when they came to where the outer world  
Broke like a dawning on the inner gloom,  
And earth's keen air renewed earth's heat in him,  
Desire to look on her, or anguish lest  
She followed not, swept over him like flame,  
Shot madness like an arrow through his brain.  
His harp crashed and fell from him; he raised  
His arms, as one that leaps from his bed in fear,  
Shrieked, and turned; but in a gloom he saw  
Eurydice, where, like a ghost of twilight  
Stealing from the darksome earth, she passed  
And faded from his sight."

From the standpoint of poetical harmony and musical effect, this is not the most beautiful passage in the poem, but it combines as well as any, perhaps, the general qualities of passion and beauty and strength which characterize the whole piece.

Among the manuscript poems which I have had the privilege of examining, are "Acteon," an elegy after the manner of "Lycidas,"—a very good piece of work indeed; "The Garden of Psyche," another classical poem illustrating the author's power of making a myth and inventing a metrical form to suit his purposes; "Stars at Night," a reflective nature poem. The last is done in the Spenserian stanza and will more easily admit of brief quotation:

"And lo, from the east comes night, the sower, swift,  
 Bending his steps across the azure mead,  
 And flings with wide motion from his palm uplift,  
 Upon the enamelled void the starry seed,  
 Like golden corn about his footsteps' lead.  
 Who counteth them? Unnumbered—as a rain  
 Dropped within some vale with silent speed,  
 Stars sown in whirlwinds. All search is vain;  
 Our eyes but seem to lose and find and find and lose again.

"And sudden from a dim world drawing near,  
 Among the rest a meteor sprung now,  
 Bolder than all, like some fierce charioteer  
 With hair blown back from his burning brow,  
 Shoots through the course of heaven, and now sinks low.  
 Hither from out the dark he came, and on  
 Into the dark he went—I know not how,  
 Nor mid what starry coursers sets his sun,  
 Nor what bright goal awaits him when his race is run."

There are also in manuscript four one-act poetical dramas, and these will doubtless be Mr. Young's next publication. Their titles are suggestive: "Madretta," "The Twilight Saint," "The Seven Kings and the Wind," "The Queen of Sheba."

Finally, the "Texas Sonnets," modeled very closely on Carducci's French Revolution sonnets, are the latest product of our author. I am permitted to quote here one of the eleven sonnets so far composed in this series. The second, with sub-title "The Heroes," is the one chosen as best illustrative of the epigrammatic terseness, the restrained power, the imaginative force, the historical truth, which characterize the whole sequence.

"Sons of a land betrayed and wronged are they,  
 Whose feet are set to the immortal height,—  
 The dragged columns in whose desperate might  
 The Saxon blood hath voiced itself today;  
 And thou, Martin, whose thirty cut their way  
 Through hostile lines with succour in the night;  
 And thou, brave Bonham, who returned to fight  
 And die beside thy comrades in the fray;  
 Mild Austin, who of duty knows the worth,  
 And unto others gives the laurel wreath;  
 And Houston, burly chief of wit and brawn,  
 The Atlas of his little Western earth;  
 And Travis last, who opens unto death  
 As one that hears Christ calling through the dawn."



We venture to predict that while these sonnets will hardly become popular for Friday afternoon recitations in the public schools even of Texas, they will, when they are published, be warmly received by Texans and lovers of poetry everywhere, and will help to make for their author a secure place among American sonneteers.

## The South Carolina Cotton Mill—A Manufacturer's View

BY THOMAS F. PARKER

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Cotton manufacturing began in South Carolina before the Revolution, but slavery prevented its growth, promoting agriculture to the neglect of all other industrial pursuits. Rightly to place the cotton mill of today as a social and economical factor, its surroundings and antecedents must be understood.

Few who have not suffered in the South know the depths of poverty and ignorance to which the masses of South Carolina, who constitute the cotton mill operatives, were reduced at the close of the "Reconstruction" period.\* At the breaking out of the Civil War in 1860, South Carolina was third among the States in per capita wealth, and expended that year for education approximately \$700,000, an amount exceeded by few. When the State brought to a successful close her desperate struggle against the so-called "Reconstruction Forces" for the preservation of civilization itself, she had lost during the sixteen years since the commencement of the Civil War more than seventy-five per cent. of her property, a large proportion of her best citizens, and nearly all means of education. The last call for troops, February, 1865, took into the field every white male from sixteen to sixty years of age, so that while the States of the North, East, and West had for the most part suffered uninterrupted prosperity, South Carolina in 1876 domiciled her surviving citizens among graves and the ruin of her former civilization. Was it any wonder that the United States Census of 1880 records South Carolina's illiteracy (white and colored) at 55.4 per cent.?

Under new and tolerable political conditions, but with resources and capital almost exhausted, and without trained manufacturers or operatives, the South Carolina survivors resumed manufacturing, urged forward by necessity and the old Southern spirit to a successful issue; and in four years they had the new movement

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\*The twelve years during which the negroes, led by white adventurers, ruled the State.

well under way. Climatic reasons located the mills almost entirely in the western half of the State, but Charleston furnished capital and several prominent presidents and directors; while the far-seeing business methods and friendliness of New England cotton machinery manufacturers and New York sales agents provided what capital was necessary from without the State.

In 1880 South Carolina had eighteen mills with less than 2,000 looms, which were wonderfully increased by 1908 to over 150 mills, with approximately 93,000 looms; and the world was taking note that from insignificance in cotton manufacturing, South Carolina was ranking second in the United States, with mills costing over \$100,000,000, of which the citizens owned seventy-five per cent., and with a mill village population exceeding 150,000 persons.

The mill movement in South Carolina found several men waiting for each one man's job, no market for land anywhere, and starvation wages driving many from the State; the following figures and statements will give some indication of how it changed these conditions during the period 1876-1908. In 1876 there were about 1,000 cotton mill operatives with a yearly wage of about \$250,000. These were increased to nearly 50,000 operatives, with a wage approximately \$12,000,000. In 1876 the average day wage of the operative for thirteen hours was less than 60 cents. This was gradually increased to an average day wage of \$1.10 for ten hours. During this period one-fifth of the white population of the State were taken from the farms to the mills, and thereby changed from producers to consumers of farm products.\*

By 1907 the mills purchased cotton to an amount exceeding \$34,000,000, equivalent to eighty per cent. of the State's cotton production. It was largely their influence on conditions in the State which enlarged the cotton crop from approximately 200,000 bales in 1870 to over 800,000 in 1900, and during the same period doubled the corn and rice crops, increased the hay crop twenty times, and the tobacco crop 570 times, producing agricultural prosperity for the first time since the war. By 1908 the pay rolls of the mills approximated \$12,000,000 per annum, and

\*Some of this 150,000 people were attracted by South Carolina from the mountain regions of adjoining States.

their dividends approximated \$3,500,000, which rapidly built up the towns adjacent to the mills with their churches and institutions of learning.

During this period good new houses, with from four to six rooms, were built for the operatives (one-fifth of the total white population) in mill villages adjacent to the best towns of the State, and as this population has been drawn in large part from remote scattered homes inaccessible to civilizing influences, these people were profoundly influenced for good economically, religiously, and socially. The surplus population removed from the small farms and outlying districts was mostly the inefficient and uneducated portion, and this whole body of raw recruits was quickly transformed into a trained and disciplined army of well-to-do wealth producers, which is unconsciously using the present mill as a stepping stone to higher opportunities.

The immense amount of freight afforded by the mills and their large financial dealings have built up the railroads and banks. All these and other lesser causes have raised the general labor wage in South Carolina, including that on the farm, to approximate that of the prosperous sections of our country.

A visit to an average mill and then to typical places from which its operatives came, including the barren sandhills and isolated mountain coves, would give most persons an entirely different understanding of the cotton mill's influence. Some large families who come to the mill have lived in cabins, which, with their surroundings, can be described as follows: One small room with a door, and possibly one window, both of which are kept closed during the winter and every night; an open fireplace for heat and cooking; a frying pan, coffee pot, and Dutch oven for cooking utensils; and for furniture, rough beds, chairs and a table. Not a book is in the house or even a newspaper, and the whole family uses tobacco and perhaps whiskey; ambition there is none, and only a bare subsistence is sought. From lack of occupation and mental interest the family spends a considerable part of its life in this room; the nearest neighbor is perhaps several miles distant, and the church and school during the short periods they are open are so remote as to be practically inaccessible. These conditions lead to dire poverty and disease, in extreme cases even causing clay eating.

Such a family brings all its belongings in one wagon with its members to the mill, and they often have to obtain a cash advance with which to purchase food upon their arrival, and sometimes with which to pay for their transportation to the mill. Changing to a mill and its village, with regular wages, intelligent interests, and contact with civilization, is a wonderful uplift for these people.

The class just described is the extreme, yet many such come to each mill, and there are all degrees between this and the small best class of mill comers.

An average observer, unconsciously comparing his family's occupations and home with those of South Carolina mill operatives, is really making a partial and misleading comparison. He should also contrast the past and present conditions of the operatives; and, if he does so, while he may still call attention to the mill's remediable defects, truthfulness will force him to give it credit for the great good it has done and is doing.

A factory village near a town is in a wholesome "lime light," and the living condition of its people can be easily observed, a thing impossible in their former isolated homes. Till causes have been studied, the conclusion is unwarranted that the evils observed are factory made. It is not denied that South Carolina mill managements who employ people of their own stock, and not infrequently kinsfolk of the oldest families, should follow the best twentieth century mill practices, and even lead in raising the working and living conditions of their operatives as far as is possible without jeopardizing or crippling their business, but blame not founded on fact delays improvement. And in South Carolina any statement assuming that operatives are injured by coming to the mill immediately loses force with the mill managements and the public, for they know the contrary to be true.

This new industry was not created at the expense of any values or of any other industry, but it is an embodied spirit of prosperity come to dwell in the State with gifts for all. Its achievements are those of a business effort, for cotton manufacturing in South Carolina has no claim to other purpose. But judged by the importance of its net results to the State, it will bear a favorable comparison even with the State's educational or philanthropic movements in their own field during the same period. Here is a

splendid opportunity for critics of South Carolina mills to furnish a statement concerning some other movement having their approval for comparison with the record of the mills, which in the magnitude of constructive work accomplished is phenomenal. Critics are usually ignorant of the magnificent scope of this movement, uplifting as it does a whole State, and occupy themselves with one or two of its details, which, however important, should not cause one to lose sight of the greater in the less.

Night labor in South Carolina cotton mills can be said to have nearly ceased, as there are only four of the smallest mills that continue this injurious practice.\* Such child, married-woman, and night, labor as should not have existed in South Carolina were caused by extreme poverty and a lack of standards and traditions among the operatives, and are decreasing under more favorable conditions. It is not denied that at times such labor has been encouraged or winked at by some mill managements for their own profit, but a growing public opinion is constantly exercising greater influence in these matters. Already the percentage of women operatives in South Carolina is less than in Massachusetts; the United States Census of 1900 gives South Carolina a percentage of 37, and the Massachusetts State Bureau gives that State in 1906 a percentage of 43.

These people, even when extremely poor, are very independent in their attitude towards an employer, often too much so for their own good. Being familiar with mill and farm conditions, they do not hesitate when dissatisfied to move from mill to mill or back to farm work. This has been done frequently from mere restlessness, and is very annoying to the mills, but the ability to do so at any time with ease is a wholesome check on mill managements and has been of great benefit to the operative. Despite many statements to the contrary by uninformed persons,

\*Persons unacquainted with factory hours are often misled by seeing mills illumined before or after daylight, thinking that this is all night labor, when it is not. A day shift works sixty hours per week, and operatives often prefer working eleven hours for five days and five hours on Saturday forenoon, so that they may have Saturday afternoon as well as Sunday free. This necessitates starting before daylight and closing after dark during the winter months, and in such cases the law allows this time to be made up, provided that under no circumstances a child below the age of twelve is worked later than 9 p. m.; and that not more than sixty hours of lost time are made up during any one year, and then only when such lost time has been caused by accident or other unavoidable cause.

they rarely permit their children to be abused by an overseer, and, being themselves untrained and undisciplined, as a rule badly spoil their children.

Mill departments pay for the same work the same wage to men, women, and children, though, until recently, the spinning department wages have not been on a parity with those of the other departments. It is difficult to compare the mill wages of Massachusetts and South Carolina, owing to different methods of paying, but wages in Massachusetts are only about ten to fifteen per cent. higher according to locality, and living expenses there are fully as much higher.

The mills of South Carolina as a whole are more modern than those of any New England State; they lead in improvement, and have the highest type of construction, equipments, and sanitary arrangements, including abundant lighting, high ceilings, forced ventilation, and heating. A publication by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor in 1905 states:

"A large proportion of the mills (Southern) built and started between 1890 and 1900 are thoroughly up-to-date in all respects; in fact some improvements in mill construction are to be found in that section which are not yet introduced in the manufacturing regions of the North." . . . . .

"Nearly all the Southern mills are equipped with the Northrop loom, which is considered the most improved, and supplied with the latest inventions."

Operatives work long hours indoors, which is not desirable, but the writer after inquiry has learned of no nervous, pulmonary, or other diseases caused by dust, or cotton particles, or other conditions peculiar to cotton manufacturing in the South. A careful record kept for over a year in his village has also failed to disclose any such complaints. When the people have not brought diseases to the mill they are healthy, and their physical condition is improved from various causes by the change.

Dr. C. W. Stiles, Chief of the Division of Zoölogy of the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, Washington D. C., writes as follows:

"I described the unsanitary conditions under which the tenant whites of the rural districts were living and the vastly improved, though not perfect, sanitary conditions they enjoy when they

come to the cotton mills. I said that I looked upon the cotton mills as the greatest and almost the only real friends that the poor whites of the South have and that I could not concur in the popular condemnation to which the cotton mills are constantly subjected. I took the position that there is another side to the child-labor question, a side not generally understood; that I considered these children infinitely better off in the cotton mills than on the soil-polluted, disease-breeding, one-horse, privyless farms. This does not mean that I am an exponent of child-labor as an abstract proposition, but rather that I look upon child-labor in the South as the less of the two evils and, given the present medieval conditions existing on the one-horse tenant farms, I view child-labor as an actual blessing when compared with the child misery which is found more particularly in the sand lands and in the Appalachian region."

There are very few accidents in the mills, certainly no more than with an equal number of people on farms.\* Lawyers are not scarce, and yet court records show very little mill accident indemnity litigation.†

Factory legislation has made good progress, and is well adapted to local conditions. It has refrained from inviting catastrophe through sumptuary or rashly experimental laws. The great social, religious, educational, and other changes taking place in the State require time for development and to be understood. Apart from all other considerations, laws much in advance of a strong public opinion are of little use, and experience and educational forces must precede wise and lasting legislation.

Legislation has gradually reduced mill hours to sixty per week; child labor under twelve years is forbidden; a Department of Commerce and Labor has been established with regular factory inspection and the collection of mill statistics; a State Board of Health is actively interested in the study and improvement of

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\*Photographs may not lie, but explanations of photographs do, when children made wretched outside of the factory, are photographed and called factory products; or when mills running sixty hours per week are photographed brilliantly lighted after dark as a proof that they run all night.

†The largest mill company in the State, the Pelser Manufacturing Company, has had only one accident indemnity suit in its experience of thirty years. Its mill village population is 5,000. Its fiscal year, ending August 31, 1909, has the following record: 239 births, 19 deaths (12 of these infants).



mill conditions. Children under twelve without any other means of support, with a certificate to this effect, from a magistrate, are allowed to work, as are also during the summer those who have gone to school during the regular term and have a certificate from a public school teacher. These exceptions are subject to abuse, and the Governor and the Department of Commerce and Labor are making earnest efforts to see that the spirit of the law is complied with. However, the present development of the State, in the general opinion, makes these provisions advisable for the time being.

South Carolina is fortunate in having a legislature sound at the core, which does its own thinking, and is neither controlled by, or antagonistic to, corporations; such factory laws as it has passed are generally recognized as needed and of great benefit to the State. Additional general legislation affecting operatives will be constantly called for with the development of the State. Some measures urgently needed at present are: A general marriage license and registration law, as its absence promotes a disregard for this bond, and desertion of wives and families is too frequent in the State; a law raising the age at which persons can marry, for at present too many children do so; a law requiring the compulsory keeping of vital statistics, which are almost neglected in this State and are of the greatest importance; a general moderate compulsory education law, contemplating gradual but steady growth. South Carolina manufacturers are on record as not objecting to having the age limit for labor in this State raised to fourteen years, when a good compulsory education law is in effect. And, perhaps, the most important of all, there is needed an employee's accident indemnity law modeled on the German law, providing a fund for accidents made by compulsory contributions from corporations and employees, to be distributed by rule, and not, as at present, by litigation.

There is nothing in connection with manufacturing of more importance to the State than the mill's influence for good or evil on the one-fifth of the State's white children who are under its influence; for the State will have to reckon with these people in the future, and its welfare makes imperative the thorough and wise handling of this matter. It is an interesting fact that South Carolina mills are a most important factor in a rapid and com-

plex State-wide evolution now taking place, which constantly makes new requirements of mill managements themselves.

Here is where the manufacturer and the reformer sometimes part company; the former affirming that he has on the whole greatly benefited his operatives, including the children, and that he has therefore more than discharged his responsibility to the State, which should not interfere with his business by investigation and legislation. The latter, on the other hand, does not concern himself with a past condition, but with present and future conditions, and asserts that all remediable evils should be rectified progressively as soon as improving circumstances will permit.

It is undeniable that operatives who get their entire support from a manufacturer, and live in his houses, can be greatly influenced by him for good or evil, and responsibility always accompanies the power of such an employer. Every man knows this to be true. However, what is needed instead of the cheap criticism of the manufacturer which one often hears, is an accurate knowledge of mill and mill-village conditions and influences as they really exist, and an intelligent discussion of these by the public at large; for the manufacturer is not alone responsible for their wise settlement.

As it is, some so-called reformers have spread abroad many misstatements, and there has been little expert study of the situation. Publications of the South Carolina Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries, show that from 1870 to 1905 the percentage of operatives under sixteen, compared with the total number of all operatives in the cotton mills of the State, instead of increasing as is often stated, actually decreased from 29 per cent. to 23.7 per cent. In 1909 a careful count by State officials of children under fourteen years of age showed 5,019 such children. Of these 1,148 were under twelve years, as follows: 596 were children of totally disabled parents, and 552 had school certificates and only worked for the summer months during school vacations. The conditions under which these children worked have also been grossly misrepresented.

Passing over what the mill has done for a child in moving it with the entire family many miles from hopeless isolation and poverty into close touch with the best civilization of the State,

let us consider what educational influences a child, as now found in a mill village, is most in need of. Considering his antecedents and environment, should they not include his family and neighbors, and could these be given other than an industrial education? Should this not be accompanied by discipline, stimulating examples, and immediate and adequate reward of effort in money and promotion? This is what the mill furnishes; and a combination of an ordinary day school for the child and of night classes for adults, with the industrial training alternating with the other, makes a practical self-supporting system of education of much merit.

The child is thus surrounded by a genuine atmosphere of work with the economic forces at play. He acquires the habits of industry and with them a desire for the good things of life which he sees others securing by their own exertions. The mill has set such a child's feet on the ladder of a rapid, beneficial, evolution, and results show that in most cases he climbs; for many mill operatives of South Carolina with unpromising antecedents are now earning a wage nearly equal to that of store clerks and school teachers who had many advantages at the start.\*

The fact is that many operatives will gradually climb out of and above the mills into other employments, unless fabrics are constantly improving and the mills can thereby continue to offer a higher and higher grade of work. Indications are not lacking that, in spite of the latest machinery and increasing efficiency, the labor demand of the State may before long outstrip its supply, and that South Carolina, with its great diversity of natural resources and its hostility to inferior foreign immigrants, may have high priced instead of cheap labor. Already, with its developing labor conditions, South Carolina's dependence for future extensive expansion in cotton manufacturing is in advanced business methods and a constant progress in the fineness and the quality of the goods manufactured.

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\*The average wage of store clerks in South Carolina is for men \$50 per month, for women \$35; and that of teachers, men and women, for actual time employed is about \$42 per month. The average mill operative (including men, women and children) now makes \$28 per month, and the best make about \$45.

## The Democracy and Fraternity of American Industrialism\*

By JOHN CARLISLE KILGO

President of Trinity College

For the past twenty-five years industrialism has been clearly in the ascendency in America. It has engaged our best energies, taken possession of our political thought, given direction to our educational policies, shaped our social influences, and strongly influenced our literature and our religion. Holding as it does such a large place in our American life, it is inevitably the chief agency through which the cardinal principles of our civilization and the ideals of our social life must find their largest and their most effective expression. Our faiths must be verified amid the strains and the conditions of our industrial activities. Our ideas of government, of society, and of religion must become embodied in the laws, the relations, and the ethics of industry. We cannot, for example, separate our religious duties and acts from the relations and the tasks of the shop, the bank, and the factory; and, if there be any need for a revival of our religious life, it will not be found in the demand for new creeds, but in making old creeds do less service about high altars and more service amid the dust and din of industrial tasks.

It seems to me that some of our most valued traits are finding expression in the vigorous industrial life which we have developed. In it one will find the truest and strongest spirit of our nationalism. There is nothing sectional, nothing provincial in our industrialism. The diameter of its vision is the diameter of the whole nation, and the circle of its activities takes in all sections and people of our great country. The industrial world cares little about the old-time debate between Webster and Calhoun, or the latter day discussion between Mr. Tillman and Mr. Lodge. It is vastly more interested in the cotton crop of Texas and the wheat crop of Dakota than it is in any academic theories of government. In its geography there is no Mason and Dixon's line, and the battle

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\*A portion of this article was used in an address before the American Bankers' Association at Chicago, September 17, 1909.

of Gettysburg is not on the front page of its history. It invests in railroads that run from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from sea to sea; it puts its capital in Alabama mines and Oregon banks, and send its agents into every State of the Union. Its very soul throbs with nationalism, and nowhere on this continent will you hear a finer note of nationalism than you will hear in the humming wheels of a Carolina cotton mill.

If this American union of States is to be real and not merely nominal, if it is to be vital and not incidental, it must find a deeper and a stronger bond than the articles of our national constitution, and it must be held together by a power greater than legislative enactments. People are bound together not by documents and enactments and bayonets, but by the ties of a common ancestry, by the traditions of their race, by the common experiences of their history, and, above all, by their association with each other in doing the work of the world.

In its freedom from class distinctions and the rule of caste our American industrialism is the finest triumph of democracy to be found in any part of the world. This freedom is strikingly illustrated in two forms. First, the distinction between capital and labor, which in aristocratic governments is a real class distinction, does not represent a real distinction in our industrialism. While economists for the sake of their science make such a classification, in reality the American capitalist is an American worker. The idle capitalist spending his time in lordly indolence is not a custom among Americans. The captains of American industries do not regard work with social disdain, as becoming only to the poorer classes. In our industrialism it is an honor to work, a disgrace to idle. The marks of labor are badges of respect. And in the great army of American laborers there will be found none who work harder, none who more highly esteem labor, none who devote more wisdom to their tasks than the heads of our great industrial organizations. Who in America works harder than Mr. Morgan? Who gave a larger number of hours and more tireless efforts to his tasks than Mr. Harriman? Every great industrial enterprise in America is a monument to the working spirit of our capitalists. There is, therefore, among Americans no just ground for warfare between capital and labor as though they were alien and dissimilar forces battling against each other for

heartless conquest. The capitalist and the laborer share the scenes of toil and know their common interests and regard their common relations.

The second way in which American industrialism is the world's best example of freedom from the rule of class or caste is the ease with which a man may pass from one line of work to another. In old countries the reign of industrial classes has predestined the field of each man's work. Ask an Englishman why he is a merchant and he will answer, "because my father and because his father before him were merchants." Ask another why he is a tailor, and the same traditional reason will be given. They inherit an industrial destiny. But ask an American why he is a merchant, or a tailor, or a farmer, or a banker, and he will reply, if he replies at all, "because I wish to be." His grandfather was a carpenter, his father was a farmer, he began as a clerk, changed to a traveling agent, went West and became a banker. It is an abnormal record in which the man has not passed through many fields of industry before settling down to one field, while the typical genius of our race is a natural conceit which makes every true American believe that he can do anything. And it is the rule to find a successful business man engaged in several lines of business rather than to find him devoting all his energies to a single industry.

Dr. Eliot thinks that the ideal democracy is a social order in which each man will have a free chance to do the thing which he can do best. Perhaps the same idea was more accurately expressed by Mazzini when he defined a democracy as a "chance for all through all under the leadership of the wisest and the best." Both agree that a sound democracy should furnish each member of society a ready chance to find the place in which he can render the most efficient and remunerative service. This ideal may not yet have been attained, but I believe that it has been more nearly realized in our industrialism than it has in any other department of our social order. The richest heritage of the American youth as he quits college is the full assurance that all the gateways to all the fields of human endeavor are wide open before him, and that he may select or change his calling as may seem best to himself. And it has been this soul of democracy in our American industrialism that has filled the American youth with a conquering vigor and kept alive in his mind the spirit of freedom.

It is popular to discuss the failures of democracy, and it is common enough to find Americans who express doubts as to the final results of our effort to maintain a democratic government. And the effort is full of difficulties. It demands eternal vigilance. But if our efforts to establish democracy in the earth, to prove its cause to all mankind, fail, the blame cannot be justly charged to our industrialism. The tendencies which seem to threaten our democracy do not spring out of our industrial spirit, they do not belong to our industrial methods. They come out of the social realm, and should be credited to the weakness and the insincerity of our social sentiments, standards, and customs. They are the creations of men and women who are the beneficiaries of the wealth produced by industry and who use it to set up false and undemocratic ideals of society and to parade the forms of aristocracy in a most harassing way. The chief danger, if there is any danger, is in the parlor, not in the shop. Americans are democratic enough in the scenes of work; they become suspicious when they lay off their working clothes and put on dress suits and pass into the social world. Then human sympathy seems to chill. Then the laborer comes in contact with a spirit which he resents. It is in the snobbishness of the parlor, the arrogance of the social spirit that American democracy reaches its lowest point and seems to have its least chance. It is unfair, therefore, to charge to industrialism the crimes of social life, the shortcomings of the educational spirit, or the failures of politics. Judged by every fair test there are ample reasons to believe that the democracy of our industrialism is not a failure, but that it shows signs of health and of vigorous growth. I feel justified in believing that in it the spirit of democracy is developed to a larger degree and in a sounder form than in any other department of our national life. It is more democratic than our politics, than our society, than our education, and, I regret to say, than our church fellowships. If the soul of democracy is, as Archbishop Ireland says, "a supreme faith in manhood," then where will one find a higher, a sincerer, and a more persistent faith in true manhood than he will find in the history and the standards of American industrialism? In the fields of our industry each man is to a larger degree the master of his own destiny than he is in any other sphere of American life. There ancestral influences, social badges, and other incidental

circumstances count for less and personal manhood counts for more than it does in other fields of activity. I never fill out a blank for some person who is applying to a bonding company that I am not deeply impressed with the high estimate the business world puts upon personal worth as the chief basis of business confidence and esteem. This is democracy in earnest. It is the one spirit that inspires hope in every heart and furnishes a high motive for sacrifice and labor. It invests manhood with a dignity and clothes it with rights that are acknowledged at the highest seats in every department of industry.

One of the most splendid achievements of our American history is the unlimited opportunity it has furnished men of all classes, conditions, and races to improve their industrial and social conditions and to rise to the highest points of success. In the halls of fame are recorded the names of those who have done some immortal thing in letters or the art of war or politics, but a roll that also reflects great honor upon our American government, the one that marks the high point of our social evolution, is that long roll of Americans who began at the bottom and by fidelity and labor rose step by step till they reached the summit of industrial influence and power. That is the common story of American men of business success. The Americans today, who command such large industrial power throughout the world, whose names give value to commercial paper in every market, bear witness to the genuineness of democracy in our industrialism. The little tot who is selling his papers along the street at a penny a copy is the citizen of a country and the heir of industrial traditions that make possible to him the day when he will own the paper and his voice become a national power. That is not the dream of democratic idealism, it is the wonderful record of our democratic industrialism.

In our industrialism is also embodied in a most practical form a true spirit of fraternity. The doctrine of human brotherhood was first given to the world by Jesus and is one of the cardinal doctrines of the Christian religion. But the church has preached it as a human relation to be verified in religious experience as an inner sense. Yet, as taught by Jesus, it was intended as a new basis of society to be worked out in all practical duties and relations. And one who has closely studied the evolution of society



knows that its direction has been toward a universal brotherhood. But it remained for the closing half of the nineteenth century to see the idea take a practical form and become a working force in an organized shape. Without intention, but by the quiet process of social evolution, it has become one of the most potent forces in our industrialism, and is working out the most radical revolution of the age.

The growth of the principle of unionism, whether expressed in the union of labor or the combination of capital, is the outcome of a deeper social consciousness, at the bottom of which is a serious belief in the brotherhood of man. To regard unionism as one of the abnormal and passing incidents of history is to misjudge both its force and its significance. It has upon it every mark of permanency. There is every assurance that it has come to stay. Instead of showing any sign of decay, it is steadily growing and becoming more and more entrenched as the fixed policy of industrialism. It has already reached every class in the world of industry and gathered to itself a commanding influence. If it were a mere intrigue of designing men to thwart justice, if it were no more than a scheme to command large power for private ends, or if it were only an economic convenience, it might give way before opposition, but it is the expression of a deep force at work in history raising social life to a new and a higher level, and no earthly power will be able to arrest its progress.

When viewed in the light of its practical results, it is the transition of society from an individualistic and competitive system to a fraternal and a coöperative system. Each man for himself was the basal ideal of the old system; each for all and all for each is the basis of the new system. The very essence of the old competitive system was endless warfare, brutal selfishness, and a survival of the fittest. In it the limit of one's rights was the might of one's arm, which was the ethics of the oldest paganism. Who can believe that such industrial antagonisms with all their confusions and strifes and wastes make the highest order of society? Who can believe in a social morality that inspires war between two neighbors that the general community may profit by their injury? Such a system was doomed before the growth of a civilization at the heart of which was beating a sense of human kinship. And this new recognition of human kinship in

the field of industry is the meaning of unionism. It means this among laborers, it means this among capitalists, it means this in all the associations and fraternities that have grown out of it.

It is nothing more than natural that such a radical transition in our industrial system, and the wide-spread revolution that it has worked and is still working, should create confusion and awaken deep misgivings. And unionism, especially unionism among capitalists, has given to government entirely new problems which the lessons of history furnish no aid in solving. The sentiment that approves the union of labor and condemns the union of capital, and would solve the problems of unionism by denying capital the right to combine, not only discards the principles of fairness, but also utterly fails to understand the central idea and the ruling force in unionism. If it is just and wise for labor to unite, it is just and wise for capital to unite. The solution, therefore, of the difficulties will not be found in less union but in more union, and all effective legislation must recognize a new order to be directed and utilized instead of a social danger to be destroyed.

Unionism itself is to blame for many of the popular suspicions that exist against it. Having combined resources and set up a coöperative industrial form, it has too often taken over into its methods the spirit and the methods of the old competitive system. Instead of exemplifying the spirit of coöperation, it exemplifies the spirit of antagonism. Labor combines against capital, and capital retaliates. In all the legal prosecutions brought against our capitalistic or labor unions, the complaints have specified acts that belong to a competitive order of industrialism, and men have wondered why they could not do things as members of a union which they were once applauded for doing as individuals. Simply because, if we are going to have co-operative power, we must follow co-operative methods.

But unionism is not complete. It is in its initiatory stage. There is in it very much that is crude. The system is very far from being in final form and under the soundest administration. So long as it is class union in which the idea of exclusion is stronger than the idea of inclusion, there will arise contentions and conflicts. This is why I say there must be more unionism. It must widen its spirit and extend its aims until all lines and classes of industrial interests are included within one great organization.

The natural evolution of our deeper social consciousness is toward a larger grouping of unionism. The growth of all kinds of fraternal organizations and benevolent societies shows this tendency, while the gathering of single unions into national and international federations marks the wider extension of the sense of fraternity in our industrialism. But of far greater significance than even these examples is such an organization as the National Civic Federation which has since 1901 been at work to obviate and settle industrial disputes and to promote industrial progress. On the executive committee of this organization are represented the general public, the labor organizations, and the employers of labor; and the wisdom, success, and patriotism of the gentlemen who originally composed the Federation give full assurance that its work will continue to be seriously and efficiently done.

But the spirit of fraternity that pervades our industrialism also expresses itself in a magnificent benevolence. There is a sympathetic soul and a patriotic spirit in it. The cry of distress in any quarter of the earth finds in American industrialism a ready and a rich response. Ships loaded with food and raiment have sailed away from our shores carrying help to the suffering in distant lands and illustrating in a substantial form the brotherhood of mankind. However, more striking than such deeds of brotherliness toward the afflicted are the enormous gifts to colleges, universities, libraries, museums, orphanages, and other institutions for the public benefit. The recorded gifts of 1908 amounted to more than the combined amounts paid by our government for the Louisiana territory, Alaska, and the Philippine Islands. To intimate that back of this wonderful philanthropy are immoral motives shows both a shameful ingratitude and a spiteful prejudice. Such deeds not only spring from a social conscience and a true patriotism, but they bear everlasting testimony to the benevolent spirit that has been a marked characteristic of our industrial system.

Do not understand me to claim perfection for our industrialism. It has its imperfections, it has its weaknesses. But there has been no lack of men to point them out and to magnify them. I have tried to show some of the virtues of our civilization as they are embodied in and expressed through our industrialism. There is very much in it to inspire a steady faith in our form of gov-

ernment. We are the citizens of a great country, the heirs of a glorious heritage, and the trustees of an immeasurable wealth. There are hard tasks to be performed and tremendous problems to be solved, but I have confidence in the wisdom and the patriotism of Americans, and believe that they will master their difficulties.

But Americans must learn that the final test of every civilization is moral truth and moral righteousness. It is not enough for them to grow rich. Moral forces are vastly more vital in a nation's life than wealth. And when these decay every other force will decay with them. It is then of first importance that every patriotic American should labor earnestly to keep alive a strong moral sense in the minds of our people. This moral sense is of supreme importance in its relation to the problems of our industrial life.

We are apt to depend too much upon the power of legislation to cure our ills and remedy our evils. To make laws has become a national mania with us. But ill-considered legislation is always a far worse evil than the wrongs which it is designed to correct. When St. Paul said that men are saved by grace, not by law, he laid down a principle of personal salvation. In society something must be left to the moral direction of the individual, and the personal conscience must be the omnipresent security against crime and anarchy. The law should come when it comes as the mature expression of the best moral sense of the community. A glad obedience to law on the part of the individual citizen is the highest patriotic service, and our industrialism must be put under the rule of well-ordered consciences. It is no honor to any man to boast of the genius to evade by a perilously narrow margin the laws of his country, and the standards of morality in our industrialism should condemn any person who pitches his business transactions at that low level. No man at all times has a right to all he can get by the law on the outside of a prison cell. There is a higher law than has ever been put in our national code. The sense of universal brotherhood, the dictates of an intelligent conscience, go far beyond the enactments of Congress, and the best standards of business conduct should assure their enforcement.

## Scotland Yard Methods in Literature

BY JAMES FINCH ROYSTER

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The student of literature who, in the seclusion of the academic world, aspires to apply the principles of critical scholarship to the study of literature is forever conscious of the suspicion—to avoid a harsher term—with which the “scientific method” in literature is regarded, not only by the outer world, but by many of those within his own restricted circle. The creed of the critical scholar denies him the right to enter into an analysis, for instance, of the poetic powers of Cædmon until it has been proved that such a person ever lived, or, at any rate, until there has been assigned to him with reasonable certainty a body of poetic production greater than one hymn of nine lines. This desire to be accurate and exact, accompanied by a zeal for the furthestmost possible truth in regard to the facts of literature before the formation of an opinion as to the worth of a production, he is told, does not dwell in the same breast with a fine and delicate appreciation of the beautiful in literature. He is reminded that his method of approach to literature is deadening to the spirit; while he is catalogued as a dry-as-dust pedant. The critical scholar feels the antagonistic attitude still more keenly, perhaps, in the contrasting veneration in which popular opinion holds those who have read five hundred thousand lines of poetry (with small care, it may be, as to who in fact wrote them) and have remembered the half of them for ready reference; those who talk bewilderingly concerning Browning or Rossetti; and those who lay down with confidence and back by quotation the all-sufficient canons of art. To the world in general these are “scholars;” while “the public, with its vulgar and superficial standards, has nothing but disdain for the whole of critical scholarship.”

There is not the least doubt that in the ranks of the critical scholars are to be found too great a number of over-zealous counters of statistics, too many who are suffering from an “excessive pre-occupation with little things,” who here, as in any other sort of endeavor, would never rise above commonplace dullness,

and who thereby bring condemnation upon the whole body of followers of the critical method in literature. For these there is no apology, no extenuation, except through the sympathy due to those who have chosen the path in life unsuited to their powers and temperament. There is intended to follow no defence of scientific investigation in the field of literature against a charge of sacrilegious intrusion upon the Faith. And it were but labor lost to try to prove its usefulness. These things are not to be disputed. It does seem worth the while, however, setting far aside any desire to touch the problem of the superiority, or greater worth of the interpretative, philosophical, or quasi-productive scholar over the critical scholar,—a problem that Brunetière, Renan, and the latest paragraphers have failed to solve,—to call the attention of those who have not travelled far in the realm of scholarship, but who nevertheless have decided opinions upon the subject, to the fact that at the foundation of the attraction that critical scholarship has for the most of those who pursue it lies one of the most primitive of human instincts—an instinct well developed in the child who is interested in the "Riddle Box," and often in an adult who cannot read the page before you.

Critical scholarship deals with the investigation of sources, the discovery of authorship, the fixing of dates, and the restoration of texts. Primarily it has nothing to do with the literary merit or the rhetorical power of a writing under examination, except in so far as these are helpful means of determining the authorship, date, etc. These are the problems of the critical scholar. The solving of these problems brings into play the same mental processes that the detective uses in reaching his deductions and that the boy employs in unravelling an anagram. The pleasure that the solution of these problems brings to the searcher is the same kind of pleasure that the detective receives in carrying his inferences to a conclusion, and that the chess problem solver enjoys in finding a "mate in three." Critical scholarship is a high development of the puzzle solving instinct.

The student who investigates the problem of priority of date of one manuscript over another, or who seeks to determine the unknown authorship of a poem must be endowed with a taste for puzzles if he will enjoy his labor and succeed in his undertaking, just as Sherlock Holmes is the possessor of this instinct to a

high degree when he draws his deduction of guilt from the evidences of crime at his command.

The human love for problems and puzzles is attested in the immense popularity of the detective story. It is in beholding a calm, passionless reasoner, with his sang-froid and his supreme self-possession, in a struggle to find the key to the mystery before him that the main interest in the detective story lies. A problem—of blood or foul deed—is set before us; we are invited to its solution. So thrilling is the puzzle that we can scarcely wait to find out whether or not our solution agrees with that of the maker of the problem. We are deluded into pursuing scents which prove to be false. The suspense is exciting and fascinating. Problems in literature are just as intricate and oftentimes equally as exciting. Their solution requires the same passionless reasoning; the solver goes through the same order of deductions to reach his conclusions. The chase is inspiriting and kindling. Yet popularly the critical scholar is held to be dull; if he should manifest any enthusiasm he is thought to be cracked. Attacks may easily be brought against critical scholarship; it may be futile; it surely does not "pay;" but dull and uninteresting it cannot justly be considered.

Poe's "Murder in the Rue Morgue," in its method of presenting the evidence and drawing deductions from that evidence, supplies an excellent example from detective literature of the procedure of the critical scholar in solving a problem in literature. Poe sets out the evidence of the murder by means of quoted newspaper accounts of the crime, the detailed testimony of witnesses examined by the police, and the observations that M. Dupin made in the house in the Rue Morgue. From the facts the detective goes through a complicated maze of inferences and comes out of it with the solution of the mystery.

There is no more striking example in scholarship with which to match M. Dupin's method of analytical reasoning, his acumen and his ingenuity, or with which to illustrate the attraction that literary problems have for minds alert to grasp facts and "the relation which each bears to the other" than an article published three years ago by Professor John M. Manly in "Modern Philology," in which he solves a long-standing problem in the middle English poem, "Piers Plowman." Let us, in the manner of Poe,

first view this problem and the evidence at hand for its solution in such a way that one unacquainted with the archaic language in which the poem is written, or without any special training in technical scholarship may understand it; and let us then see how the "detective in literature" has ferreted out the "crime."

The evidence comes from the document itself. In one of the texts of this poem (made up of a number of manuscripts, for convenience called the "A-Text") the personifications of the Seven Deadly Sins "confess their sins" before the figure Repentance and "promise amendment." Sloth is the last of the personified abstractions to come before Repentance and make his penitential speech. The passage is as follows:

- Sloth for sorrow fell down in a swoon  
 Till Vigilate the watcher fetched water for his eyes  
 224 And dashed it in his face, and diligently cried to him  
 And said, "Keep thyself from despair, that will betray you."  
 "I am sorry for my sins," say to thyself  
 And beat thyself on thy breast and pray God for grace,  
 For there is no guilt here that his mercy is not well more."  
 229 Then sat Sloth up and sickened sorely,  
 And made a vow before God; for his foul slowness  
 "There shall pass no Sunday this 7 year (unless sickness hinder)  
 232 That I shall not go before day to the dear church  
 And hear Matins and Mass as if I were a Monk.  
 Shall no ale after meat hold me thence  
 235 Till I have heard Evensong. I promise by the Cross.  
 236 And yet I shall pay again, if I have so much,  
 237 All that I wickedly gained after I had understanding.  
 And though my livelihood fail I will not stop  
 Until each man shall have his, ere I go hence.  
 And with the Residue and Remnant (by the Cross of Chester!)  
 241 I shall seek Saint Truth, ere I see Rome."  
 242 Robert the Robber on Reddite he looked  
 And because there was not wherewith he wept full sore.  
 And further the sinful shrew said to himself,  
 "Christ, that upon Calvary, on the Cross died  
 Though Dimos my brother besought thy grace  
 And had Mercy of that man for *Memento's* sake,  
 Thy will work upon me, for I have well deserved  
 249 To have hell forever. If there were no hope  
 So have mercy on me, Robert, who has no help  
 Nor any hope for joy through any Strength that I have.  
 252 But for thy great Mercy, mitigation I beseech:  
 Damn me not on Doom's day because I did ill."  
 But what became of this Felon I cannot easily show.



At line 235 of this passage the "literary police" have for many years noted a break in the thought. They have believed, however, that the incident of Robert the Robber, who "decides to make restitution of his ill-gotten goods, but on looking for the goods with which to make repayment . . . is unable to find any, and is obliged to throw himself wholly and entirely on the mercy of God," begins at line 242. The six lines (236-242) after the noted break and before the mention of Robert have been considered as belonging to the speech of Sloth with only a line or two missing, which, had they been intact, would have made the connection clear. The "literary police" have, furthermore, long "pointed out as a curious feature of the vision of the Seven Deadly Sins in this passus [some 125 lines earlier in the passus than the speech of Sloth] that the sin of Wrath is entirely overlooked and omitted" in the list of these sins. Taking into consideration the size of the various manuscripts and the number of lines to the page, "it seems not improbable that the page of the original manuscript may have contained between thirty and forty" lines. These are practically all of the facts from which the "detective" has to draw his conclusions.

What conclusions does he draw? He begins with the assumption that the well recognized break at line 235 is not the omission of merely a few lines, but a lacuna of many lines, that, in fact, a whole page has dropped out at this point in the original manuscript of this text. Thus not only the closing lines of the speech of Sloth, but the remarks prefacing the repentance of Robert the Robber are lost. A consideration of the sense and propriety of lines 236-242 shows that properly they are not a part of Sloth's speech at all, but belong to Robert's story. A whole leaf lost at this point will account for the sharp change in thought and for the abrupt beginning of the incident of Robert.

If, now, remnants of this lost leaf had been apparent in the original manuscript, some one of the numerous copyists would without doubt have attempted to rectify the mistake. Since not one of them did, it is reasonable to suppose that there was no such remnant; and "if there was none, the other half of the sheet would also pretty certainly have disappeared very soon." Here the second piece of evidence comes into consideration,—the omission of Wrath in the category of the Seven Deadly Sins. This

omission cannot be considered intentional, since the number of these sins was too securely fixed in medieval clerical literature to admit the possibility of the convention being broken at will. A comparison of the order of these sins in the other texts of this poem shows that "the proper place for Wrath in this passage is immediately after Envy," in conformity with the usual order. This is between line 106 and line 107. The reasoner now points out that "between this point and lines 235-236, where the confusion in regard to Sloth occurs, there are 129 lines," of which seven are almost certainly spurious and are to be deducted from the number of lines that separated the two passages in the original manuscript. This leaves 122 lines as in all probability lying between the two passages.

That the second leaf of the sheet, like the first, fell away in the original manuscript is the next assumption. This sheet contained the account of Wrath. If this is true, the gaps separating the two passages should be separated by four pages or by multiples of four. It must be remembered that manuscripts were bound up,—not like modern books, which are "side stitched,"—but in sections or gatherings, as blocks of note paper. Counting the number of lines in the original manuscript as thirty-one, the investigator finds that "the distance between the gaps makes about four pages of the size" supposed for the parent manuscript. Four pages will give us 124 lines, or two more than the distance separating the gaps. "If space of one line [for 'headings'] was left between Covetousness and Gluttony and between Gluttony and Sloth, the whole 124 lines would be exactly accounted for." The lost sheet, then, if only four pages separated the two passages, must have been "the next to the innermost of a section or gathering." A manuscript model made of several single folds of scrap paper, one fold being laid within another and stitched together through the center, will show that this problem, at bottom, is not very different from the paper puzzles that everyone is accustomed to in the vari-colored Sunday supplements.

Neither the original manuscript nor the single lost sheet has been found. So convincing is the solution of the mystery, however, that one can scarcely doubt that when the "culprit" is brought into court he will be the "criminal" detected by the Scotland Yard methods of this student of literature.

A large array of literary problems and accounts of their solutions would do no more than emphasize the fact which, I trust, this example of critical scholarship has made clear: that the science of deduction, made popular by the detective story, is also intensely interesting when applied to the study of literature. Scientific investigation in literature brings into play nimbleness of wit and fertility in hypothesis. It is anything but deadening to the imaginative powers.

The critical scholar does not demand that the solution of the problem be the final word in the study of literature. The work of the detective must be completed by the trial of the accused before a court of law. The labor of the literary investigator is merely supplementary to that of the literary critic. And there is necessarily nothing in the nature of literature, or in the nature of man, that prevents the same person from being both detective and judge.

## The Southern Educational Convention of 1863

BY JOHN D. WOLCOTT

Acting Librarian of the U. S. Bureau of Education

The first half of the year 1863, from the Union defeat at Fredericksburg up to the "high-water mark" of Confederate success at Gettysburg, is a period during which Southern independence seemed almost assured. With the expectation of an early peace, the time was deemed propitious for laying the foundations of a distinctive educational system for the new republic, and accordingly, under the leadership of their energetic State superintendent, Calvin Henderson Wiley, the North Carolina State Educational Association issued a call dated January 12, 1863, for a General Convention of Teachers of the Confederate States, to be held at Columbia, S. C., on the 28th of the following April. The objects of the meeting were to promote the general cause of education, to encourage the production of elementary text-books by Southern authors and publishers, who alone could rightly understand the wants of their people, and to form a permanent national association of teachers throughout the Confederacy.

Amid the distractions and disorganization caused by the war, it was difficult to assemble a general gathering of male educators, notwithstanding the legal exemption of teachers from compulsory military service. Under circumstances so unfavorable, the successful holding of the convention is a remarkable and interesting fact, and a striking proof of the strength of Southern interest in education even during so grievous a political and social crisis.

Nevertheless, the movement seems to have aroused little interest among teachers in the Confederate capital, although special railroad rates\* were secured for the encouragement of attendance.

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\*Richmond Enquirer, April 24:

NOTICE TO DELEGATES TO THE EDUCATIONAL CONVENTION AT COLUMBIA, S. C.,  
APRIL 28, 1863.

The presidents of the following railroads have kindly consented to give the delegates attending the convention free tickets both ways, viz.: The Petersburg and Weldon Railroad, and the South-side Railroad. The following, by paying one fare, will grant return tickets to delegates, viz.: The Richmond and Petersburg Railroad, the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, the Wilmington and Weldon

In the list of delegates no Richmond name appears, but Revs. W. T. Davis and Thomas Hume, Jr., of Petersburg, and Rev. George B. Taylor, of Staunton, were the Virginia representatives. The Richmond *Whig* of April 18, made the following editorial comment, which seems, however, to have been ineffectual:

"A convention of teachers is to be held in Columbia, S. C., next week, to consider and discuss a variety of matters pertaining to the profession. In Petersburg, steps have already been taken to send delegates to this convention. The teachers of Richmond appear to take very little interest in the matter, for as yet they have made no movement. If Richmond is to be represented at Columbia, no time is to be lost in appointing delegates."

Indications of the feeling in Savannah regarding the convention are an editorial notice in the *Republican* of April 22, earnestly requesting a full attendance, as the discussions are expected to be of vital interest to the Confederacy, and the following published in the same paper in its next day's issue, April 23:

EDUCATIONAL CONVENTION, COLUMBIA, S. C.

Not having become acquainted with any other movement in this city, as regards the Educational Convention, Columbia, S. C., I now invite the teachers, trustees, and friends of education to meet in my school rooms, Concordia Hall (block between the market and Jefferson street entrance Bryan street, at White's store), on Saturday next, the 25th April, at 9 o'clock a. m., for the purpose of discussing the expediency of sending delegates to said convention, or to take any other measures in this direction.

THEODORE NIEMANN,

Rector G. L. Congr.

On the appointed day, April 28, the convention assembled with 42 delegates in attendance, representing five States—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. A temporary organization was effected by making Dr. R. W. Gibbes, of Columbia, chairman, and Lieut. John B. Patrick, of the South Carolina Military Academy, secretary. A fine spirit prevailed at this opening meeting, and more delegates were expected.

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Railroad, and the North Carolina Railroad. It is presumed that the same privileges will be given to delegates by the presidents of the railroads in the other States from whom the committee have received no response.

C. H. WILEY,  
J. D. CAMPBELL,  
W. J. PALMER,

Executive Committee of the State Educational Association of North Carolina.

By the second day's session, one more State, Louisiana, was represented, making six in all, and the total number of delegates had risen to about 70. A permanent body was then organized, to be known as "The Educational Association of the Confederate States of North America," with a constitution which provided for annual meetings at such times and places as the association should determine, also that any male citizen engaged as a teacher, or who had "in any way identified himself with the educational interests of the country," should be eligible to membership by ballot. The permanent officers were: President, J. L. Reynolds, Professor of Roman Literature in the South Carolina College; Vice-Presidents, W. T. Davis, of Virginia, C. H. Wiley, of North Carolina, R. W. Gibbes, of South Carolina, J. Stoddard, of Georgia, S. T. Pearce, of Alabama, and W. H. Stratton, of Louisiana; Recording Secretary, T. S. Stevens; Corresponding Secretary, Willie J. Palmer; Treasurer, J. B. Patrick.

President Jefferson Davis had been invited to attend the convention, and his reply\* was read as follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, RICHMOND, VA., April 22, 1863.

*Messrs. C. H. Wiley, J. D. Campbell, and W. J. Palmer, Raleigh, N. C.:*

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to acknowledge your invitation to attend a meeting to be held in Columbia, S. C., to deliberate upon the best method of supplying text-books for schools and colleges, and promoting education in the Confederate States. The object commands my fullest sympathy, and has for many years attracted my earnest consideration.

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of primary books in the promotion of character and the development of mind. Our form of government is only adapted to a virtuous and intelligent people, and there can be no more imperative duty of the generation which is passing away than that of providing for the moral, intellectual, and religious culture of those who are to succeed them. As a general proposition, it may, I think, be safely asserted that all true greatness rests upon virtue and that religion is in a people the source and support of virtue. The first impressions on the youthful mind are to its subsequent current of thought what the springs are to the river they form, and I rejoice to know that the task of preserving these educational springs in purity has been devolved upon men so qualified to secure the desired results. I have

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\**Charleston Courier*, May 1, 1863; *Richmond Enquirer*, May 6, 1863. Proceedings of the Convention of Teachers of the Confederate States, p. 18.

only to regret my inability to meet you because it deprives me of the pleasure your association would give.

With my best wishes, I am, very respectfully, your fellow citizen,  
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Letters were also read from Governor Vance, of North Carolina, and various professors and teachers in the South, some merely expressing regret at inability to attend, others telling of books in course of preparation and making suggestions on the general subjects to engage the convention. The most elaborate and important of the last named class was addressed to Willie J. Palmer, of Raleigh, as a member of the committee of arrangements for the convention, by Professor Edward S. Joynes, then of William and Mary College, and now of the University of South Carolina, who has had a prominent and honored career as an educator up to the present day. This letter, entitled "Education After the War," was published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for August, 1863, and also as a pamphlet\* for the use of the convention.

Professor Joynes's letter presented with considerable fulness a forecast of the probable result of the war upon the character of the Southern people. These effects he expected to be in the main good, but the demoralization and materialism engendered by the conflict would require correction by wise educational measures, for which plans should at once be initiated. He laid down as his fundamental principle that "the nature and end of all education, apart from the acquisition of the simple and necessary elements of knowledge, is discipline—that is, the training and culture, not only of the mind, by the right development of its faculties, but also of the will, and of all the intellectual and moral powers of manhood." The best method of imparting this discipline should then be the subject of deliberation for the convention, which Professor Joynes urged, agreeing upon the principle already stated, to attend at once to the practical wants of the existing crisis. Teachers should resolve as a patriotic duty, to keep up their schools, with whatever reduced numbers, as a nucleus for the

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\*"Education After the War." A letter addressed to a member of the Southern Educational Convention, Columbia, S. C., 28th April, 1863. By Edward S. Joynes, A. M., Professor of Greek Literature in William and Mary College, Va. Richmond, Macfarlane and Fergusson, 1863. 16 p. 12°. Reprinted from the *Southern Literary Messenger*, 37: 485-492, August, 1863.

future, and continuing in themselves, so far as possible, the pursuits and habits of mind appropriate to their profession, should set about devising means for encouraging the preparation of the necessary text-books, especially those of elementary grades, by Southern authors. The writer concluded with the earnest hope that the convention would take measures to perpetuate itself, upon a basis commanding sympathy and support, both among the profession and in the public estimation, as a national institution for the encouragement of education and letters in the South.

It was reported\* that the second day of the convention was "pretty much occupied in hearing from the different States as to text-books either prepared or in course of preparation. The exhibit was most gratifying. It seems that spelling-books, readers, arithmetics, grammars and Latin books are being produced in abundance. North Carolina, especially, has already gotten out quite a variety of primary books, which have been published in very neat style in Greensboro. Dr. Reynolds well remarked that the name Rip Van Winkle, as applied to North Carolina, must now receive the new interpretation of the little boy, who, when asked why his State was called 'Old Rip,' replied, 'Because she *rips* ahead of everything so.'† Messrs. Davis and Taylor spoke of several text-books which they knew to be in course of preparation in Virginia, and the latter gentleman stated that at the breaking out of the war he was engaged on a juvenile series designed to be devoted to the several Southern States, describing their peculiar productions, interesting localities, etc., and also that he proposed to prepare a 'Child's History of the War.' Strong resolutions were adopted favoring the preference of primary text-books prepared and published in the South. In the course of the discussions, which took a wide range, many suggestions were made as to modes of teaching. Much good fellowship prevailed, and many *bon mots* brought down the house."

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\*Richmond Dispatch, May 6, 1863.

†In a recent national convention of teachers and friends of education, the high honor was done to our State of recognizing her as the undisputed leader in the great cause of education in the Confederate States.—Circular to the authorities and people of North Carolina, by Rev. C. H. Wiley, Superintendent of common schools for the State. Greensboro, 1863, p. 5.

Also in report of the Superintendent of common schools of North Carolina for the year 1863, p. 21.



On the third day, April 30, a committee was appointed to issue an address to the public on the objects of the association; and another, consisting of one from each of the States represented, to consider and report at the next meeting a course of study for male and female schools and colleges. A committee was also appointed to report to the next annual meeting of the association, as to how far the Bible should be introduced as a text-book into schools and colleges.

The convention then adjourned, after agreeing to hold the first annual meeting of the association at Atlanta, Ga., on the first Wednesday in September, 1863. A pamphlet copy of the Proceedings of the Convention\* preserved in the Library of the United States Bureau of Education, bears on its cover the following manuscript annotation, signed C. H. Wiley: "The meeting at Atlanta prevented, and the 2nd meeting held in Charlotte, N. C., in the winter of 1864-65, and proceedings not published in pamphlet form. Most of the delegates from N. C."

It would be interesting to speculate on the distinctive characteristics of the educational system which might ultimately have been evolved in a separate Southern republic, but the object of this paper is to present only the historical facts showing how the foundations were laid for a possible independent development.

In May, the following address† was issued by the committee appointed for the purpose:

*To the Teachers and Friends of Education in the Confederate States of America:*

We have been appointed to make to you the following statement:

In accordance with a call issued by the State Educational Association of North Carolina a highly respectable meeting of teachers and friends of education met in Columbia, S. C., on Tuesday, the 28th of April. Six States were represented in the meeting, about 70 delegates, and a permanent National Association was organized having for its object the promotion of the great cause of education in the Confederate States.

One of the most important subjects before the meeting was the supply of suitable text-books for our schools, and it was ascertained that many works are in course of preparation by citizens of our country, and that a number of elementary books have already been published and are in great demand. The Association deemed it of vital importance to encour-

\*Proceedings of the Convention of Teachers of the Confederate States, assembled at Columbia, South Carolina, April 28, 1863. Macon, Ga., Burke, Boykin & Co., 1868. Cover-title, 19 p. 12°.

†Charleston Courier, May 15, 1863.

age, by all means consistent with its character and object, such useful and patriotic enterprises, and pledged its members to the use of home works in preference to any others of equal merit.

To widen and strengthen the influence of the Association it was recommended to form State societies, with similar objects, in each State of the Confederacy; and a resolution was passed urging on the authorities of the several States the importance of State systems of public schools, and the appointment of a superintendent in each.

It was also recommended that efforts be made to educate for teachers worthy young men disabled by the war from manual labor, and means were adopted for the dissemination of the views of the Association on various subjects consistent with the purposes of its organization. It is believed that if the hearty coöperation of the teachers and friends of education in all parts of the Confederacy in carrying out the objects of these movements, can be secured, an immense amount of good can be accomplished. Our Association was profoundly impressed with the belief that *now* is the time to work; and that whatever is demanded by the wants of the country should be undertaken at once and without waiting for better times. Better times, by the blessing of God, are to be expected only from the diligent exertion of all classes in their appropriate spheres for the public welfare; and after those who labor in religious things, no portion of the community can accomplish more for National development than those who under Providence, direct the hearts and minds of the rising generation.

We need not suggest to you the great advantages in our work of mutual counsel and coöperation. By coming together in National and State Associations the teachers and friends of education gain important information of each other, and learn the wants and progress of different sections; they animate and encourage one another to greater efforts, while by this means injurious prejudices are worn away, a National and catholic spirit is fostered, and the educational forces of the country are so united and directed as greatly to enhance their influence and to secure that respect and consideration which they deserve.

In the name of our National Association, we invite your attention to the above statement and suggestions, and we venture to express the hope that you will heartily aid in promoting the usefulness of the movements now so conspicuously inaugurated in our beloved country.

The next meeting of the Association will take place in Atlanta, Georgia, on the first Wednesday in September next, and in the meantime you are invited freely to communicate with those of us who reside in your respective States and thus to enable us, if you cannot attend this meeting, to report your views in regard to the subjects herein embraced.

C. H. WILEY, Greensboro, N. C.

T. J. WELLS, Walterboro, S. C.

J. STODDARD, Savannah, Ga.

W. T. DAVIS, Petersburg, Va.

JNO. M. PRATT, Tuscaloosa, Ala.

W. H. STRATTON, Jackson, La.

## A Printer of the Fifteenth Century

BY KATHERINE JACKSON

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The familiar printer's device of the dolphin entwined about the anchor with the inscription, *Aldi discip Americanus*, brings to the mind of every student of Renaissance literature the story of an early editor. The dolphin and the anchor symbolized quickness of execution, with firmness of deliberation, while the motto, *Festino lento*, was translated by Erasmus, *Make haste slowly*.

By the end of the fifteenth century many of the classical manuscripts had been released from the storehouses of the monks, who often acted as earthworms, unconsciously preserving by heaping about them mounds of mould and rubbish. Boccaccio was saddened to find in Monte Cassino grass sprouting on the window ledges, books and benches thickly covered with dust, sheets removed or snipped and mutilated, to be used afresh by the monks for litanies. Universities and ecclesiastical establishments in Italy, France, and Germany had a staff of scribes, transcribers, illuminators, binders, sellers, and custodians of books, besides the *pergamenarii*, who prepared and sold the vellum. Yet these beautifully written and richly illuminated manuscripts were objects of luxury, eagerly bought and treasured by princes and lovers of distinction. The imperative desire of Aldus, a philanthropic humanist, was that of editing, publishing, printing, and circulating this ancient culture, then necessarily possessed by the few.

The art of printing, that is, of impressing figures, pictures, letters, words, lines, or whole pages on other objects, as also the art of engraving, which is inseparably connected with printing, existed long before the fifteenth century. William the Conqueror, had his monogram cut on blocks of wood or metal in order to impress it on his charters. Manuscripts of the twelfth century show beautiful initials which, on account of their uniformity, are believed to have been impressed by means of stamps or dies. But the idea of multiplying representations from one engraved plate, block, or form was unknown to the ancients, whereas it is predominant in what we call the art of block printing and especially

of typography, in which the same types are used again and again. Printing from wooden blocks can be traced as far back as the sixth century in China, and movable types of clay from the middle of the eleventh century. These blocks, bearing an engraved text, were wet, then covered with a sheet of damp paper, silk, cloth, or vellum, and rubbed with a burnisher, until an impression from the ridges of the carved block had been transferred. The British Museum exhibits as the earliest instance of Korean books printed with movable types, a work of 1337. However, in Europe, as late as the second half of the fourteenth century, every book, public and private document, proclamation, bull, or letter was written by hand; all figures and pictures, whether playing cards or images of the saints, were drawn with the pen or painted with a brush.

The *Psalterium*, in large missal types, is the first printed book bearing a date, besides the name of printer and place,—Füst and Schæffer, Maintz, 1451. In 1462 Adolph of Nassau pillaged Maintz and dispersed the printers over Europe. Three years later two Germans, who had worked under Füst, set up a press in Subbiaco, a village of the Sabine mountains. Here in October, 1465, the first edition of *Lactantius* saw the light. These men moved to Rome under the protection of the Massini, where they continued to issue Latin authors. In seventeen years they had printed twelve thousand, four hundred and ninety-five volumes. In 1471 Cennini, the first Italian to cast his own type, established himself at Florence. Before 1500 four thousand, nine hundred and eighty-seven books were printed in Italy, two thousand, eight hundred and thirty-five of which were in Venice.

Aldus Manutius, unquestionably the greatest of these printers, was born in Sermoneta in 1450. Although educated in the best schools of Rome and Ferrara, he did not give any early promise of marked ability. Even when of full age, he was so shy, taciturn, and awkward that he refused to qualify himself for any of the learned professions. He had leanings to the priesthood, but accepted without a murmur the quiet duties of student and teacher. He studied Latin at Rome under Gasparino da Verona and Greek at Ferrara under Guarino da Verona. In 1482 he went to reside at Mirandola with his friend, Giovanni Pico, who secured for him the position of tutor to his nephews, Alberto and

Lionello Pio, princes of Carpi, which position he held for nearly twenty years. To Alberto Pio the world owes a debt of gratitude, inasmuch as he supplied Aldus with the funds for starting his printing press and gave him lands at Carpi, where his children were educated.

At the age of forty Aldus entered upon his new profession, and in the preface to one of his books, says: "I have made a vow to devote my life to the public good. God is my witness that this is my earnest desire. I leave a peaceable life, preferring this which is laborious and exacting. Man was not born for pleasures unworthy of an elevated spirit, but for duties which dignify him. Let us leave to the vile the lower life of animals." His ambitious project was to print the whole literature of Greece, yet the language was irregularly taught at Oxford, neglected at the University of Paris, and read in Italy only by her ripest scholars and the few Greek refugees, who had fled before the Turks. Four Italian towns had already published odd volumes in Greek, though no true classic of the first magnitude, excepting Homer and Theocritus, had appeared.

His patrons desired him to found his press in their castle of Novi, but Aldus thought Venice would be more secure from the disturbances of a threatening war, as well as more conveniently suited for engaging the assistance of Greek scholars and compositors. Accordingly he took a house and settled near San Agostino, which speedily became a Greek colony. He began reading and explaining classic literature to the public and thus attracted enviable attention. It may be inferred from Aldus's instructions to the printers that his trade was carried on almost entirely by Greeks, and that Greek was the language of the household. The instructions to the binders as to the order of the sheets and mode of stitching were given in Greek, and many queer phrases sprang up to meet the exigencies of the new industry.

Aldus had to create the Greek types he needed, and it was difficult to get a good model. Some copyists wrote in uncials, some in cursives, some in the old mural capitals; some combined different styles and added mannerisms of their own. The old saying, "It's Greek; skip it," may have arisen not so much from the strangeness of the language as the changeable forms of the written letters. Aldus thought it necessary to design, cut, and cast

an entirely new character, in which he could combine the legibility and grace of the small cursive letters of Demetrius of Crete, as shown in the Greek grammar printed in 1476 by Paravasinus of Milan, with the severe dignity of the old capitals, as they were shown in the *Anthology*, printed in Florence in 1494. A text in Latin or Italian would be acceptably printed from twenty-four capital and as many small letters, J and N not being used, and a few signs for punctuation and abbreviation,—in all about sixty characters; but a text in Greek, with its complex accents and ligatures, according to the printer's ideas of propriety required about six hundred characters. He did the work fairly, but not to his own satisfaction. The ink used was made in his own house, where he had, in addition, a subordinate establishment for binding. The paper came from the mills of Fabriano, which took a prize at the World's Fair in London, 1851.

Not having any previous editions to work upon, the publishers were obliged to travel from city to city collecting manuscript or employing competent amanuenses to transcribe them. It was necessary to study the philosophers, poets, historians, mathematicians, and mystics, whose works they meant to print, in order that no mistake in the sense of the word should be made. Orthography and punctuation had to be agreed upon, and all this without the aid of grammar and lexicon. No one man could accomplish this alone. Therefore we find that scores of needy scholars were associated together,—the household of Aldus often numbered over thirty,—living under the same roof, revising the copy for the compositors, overlooking the men at work, reading the text aloud, and correcting the proofs with a vigilance that is but little needed now. Truly it may be said without exaggeration that the Aldi of Venice and the Stephani of Paris are more worthy of commemoration for services rendered through scholarship to humanity, than those modern castigators of ancient texts, the Porsons and Lachmanus.

The superintendence of this large establishment, added to the anxieties attending the production of so many books, sorely taxed the health and powers of Aldus. In the preface to his *Thesaurus* of 1496 he says, "In this seventh year of my self-imposed task, I can truly say,—yes, under oath—that I have not, during these long years, had one hour of peaceful rest." Continual demands were made by visitors and strangers. He describes them as the

pedagogue with sixteen-paged letters of advice, the author, who wanted his unsalable book printed at Aldus's expense, the would-be author, who asked him to read and correct his manuscripts, the idler, who desired to talk about books, and the inquisitive man about town, who wished to know of the forthcoming publications. In self-defense, Aldus put this warning over his door in Greek: "Whoever you are, Aldus entreats you to be brief. When you have spoken, leave him, unless you come like Hercules to help Atlas, weary of his burden. Know there is work here for every one who enters the door." In later years, Erasmus was required to wait for several hours, before getting an interview, even though he had come to arrange for the printing of a new book. When Aldus found that the distinguished scholar had been refused admission, he greeted him cordially and expressed regret at the delay,—afterwards printed and praised the book, made him an inmate of the house, a member of the New Academy and an assistant editor and corrector, yet the waspish little Dutchman never forgot the incivility, and, after a long time, said that Aldus's editions contained many errors.

In 1498 Aldus paid the penalty of overwork by a severe sickness. In view of death, he vowed that he would become a priest, if he should get well,—a vow which he regretted after getting well and obtained release from. Another motive, besides work, may be inferred, when in 1499, we read of his marriage to Maria, daughter of Torresano, a thrifty printer. Although Aldus was fifty years old and his wife sixteen, it seems to have been a happy marriage. Continuing in his work, there are many allusions to his hindrances, strikes among the workmen, piracies of the rival book-sellers, especially the French publishers of Lyons, the Giunti of Rome, and Soncino of Fano, who stole the letter, the editorial work, the trade-mark, and even used the name of Aldus.

Probably the thrifty father-in-law induced Aldus to change the methods in book-making. In order to command many buyers he must make cheaper books, for his folios were thought expensive; to do this he must make smaller types and put a large page on a small leaf, which led to what he called the cursive system; the French named it the *Italic* and so it is known to us. The model for this new character, he found in the thin, sharp, inclined handwriting of Petrarch, smaller, clearer, simpler than the Gothic;

more condensed and paper-saving than the round faced Roman,—the very letter, he thought, to show the most matter in the least space. He took this writing to Francesco Ræbolini of Bologna, an expert goldsmith at Venice, and hired him to draw the characters in typographical proportions and to cut the punches or models of the types he wanted. The first work printed in the new character was an edition of *Virgil*, an unpagged book of two hundred and twenty-eight leaves in octavo, which measured not six by nine, as a modern octavo, but four by six inches, as our 18-mo. It was well received by the public, cost about fifty cents, could be carried in the pocket, and thus replaced the great folios that cost ten times as much and could only be read from a desk. He was given exclusive right to the use of this character by the senate, November 13, 1502, afterwards confirmed by Pope Alexander II., renewed for fifteen years by Pope Julius II. and by Pope Leo X. However, these patents did not protect him, and he had to endure fraudulent treachery from other publishers.

Wishing to keep the ripest scholars about him, he founded in 1501 the Neacademia, a voluntary association of eminent scholars, Greek exiles, Venetian senators, Roman cardinals, professors in universities, and men of letters. According to the rules, all conversation must be in Greek; one speaking in any other tongue was subject to fine. If this were not paid after the first offense, it would be doubled at the next meeting. These fines were given to Aldus to defray the expense of an occasional feast. No jokes were tolerated; the jester who poked fun at the Academy must be expelled, as a jocular man was unfit to realize the dream of this association after the ideal of Plato. The most distinguished Greeks resident in Italy were members; John Lascaris of imperial blood, teacher of Hellenism in France under three kings; Marcus Musurus, corrector of *Aristophanes*, *Plato*, *Pindar*, and helper in publishing the first Latin and Greek lexicon. Among Italians, Pietro Bembo, Alexander and Alberto Pio occupied positions of honorary distinction; Girolano Avanzi, professor of philosophy at Padua, reviser of the texts of *Catullus*, *Seneca*, and *Ausonius*; Andrea Navagero, the Venetian poet, corrector of *Lucretius*, *Ovid*, *Terence*, *Quintilian*, *Horace*, and *Virgil*. Of northern foreigners, the most illustrious was Erasmus; to Englishmen, the most interesting is Thomas Linacre from Canterbury, a tourist in Italy,



student in Florence under Poliziano and Chalcondylas, and later founder of the chair of Greek at Oxford.

Printing was suspended in 1506 by the interruptions of war, Aldus arrested as a spy and imprisoned at Mantua. In a year he opened his office, though greatly impoverished, and receiving assistance from his father-in-law. He had published only seven volumes when, in 1510, a second war closed his door. His imprints after 1513 show that he was in partnership with Torresano, who furnished the money. The dedication of the first edition of *Plato* in 1513 to Leo X., concludes with a prayer, in which Aldus compares the miseries of warfare and the woes of Italy with the sublime and peaceful objects of a student, and appealed before "Christ and His Vicar, from the arms that brutalize to the arts that humanize the nations."

In 1515 Aldus became very ill, and fearing his death, made a will, entrusting the sale of his interest in the printing office to the care of his wife; and the education of his three sons to his father-in-law. One of his executors in Ferrara was the sister of the infamous Cæsar Borgia, Lucretia Borgia, Duchess of Ferrara, who for many years had been his friend and patron. Aldus died February 6, 1515, and was buried at Carpi, where he had passed his youth and early manhood. His sons were Manutio, who took orders at Asola, Antonio, a bookseller at Bologna, and Paolo, who carried on the press at Venice and Rome, separating from his uncles in 1540. His son Aldo continued the business until 1597, doing critical and editorial work. Thus the industry of Aldus was continued through two generations till the close of the sixteenth century, 1491 to 1597.

The first editions of Greek books deserve to be separately noticed. In 1493 appeared *Hero and Leander* of Musæus; in 1495 the first volume of *Aristotle*, and with it Greek epigrams and a letter of Fortiguerra, who deplores the deaths of Pico, Poliziano, and Barbaro; the remaining four volumes followed in 1497 and 1498. In 1498 Aldus and Musurus produced nine comedies of *Aristophanes*; in 1502, *Thucydides*, *Sophocles*, and *Herodotus*; in 1503, Xenophon's *Hellenics*, and *Euripides*, and in 1504 *Demosthenes*. After the lull in publication, on account of the war, he continued with the orators; in 1509, the minor works of *Plutarch*; in 1513, *Plato*, and in 1514, *Pindar*, *Hesychius*, and *Athenæus*.

His successors gave to the world *Pausanias*, *Strabo*, *Æschylus*, *Galen*, *Hippocrates*, and *Longinus*; so that, when the Estiennes of Paris came to Italy, they found only *Anacreon*, *Maximus*, *Tyrius*, and *Siculus*, unedited. Aldus had sent forth Latin and Italian books also; the *Etna* and *Asolani* of Bembo, collections of *Poliziano*, the *Divine Comedy*, *Cose Volgari* of Petrarch, *Prudentius*, *Pontanus*, younger *Pliny*, *Quintilian*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Adagia* and *Proverbs* of Erasmus, either in first edition or with new beauty of type and paper. He made one hundred and twenty-six known editions, seventy-eight being in quarto or folio, and thirty-three being first editions of the greatest Greek authors, beside rewriting two Greek grammars and compiling a lexicon. All of the early books were printed from large, round, open types with broad margins,—fair imitations of the best manuscripts of his day, and in the style now most commended by bibliographers. He was not fortunate in getting the approval of all critics. One literary friend, Codrus, said in a letter to Aldus, that he was pleased with the workmanship and accuracy of the *Aristotle*, but indignant at the price. The five folio volumes brought about \$20 in silver. The average price of a folio in London at the beginning of the eighteenth century was \$12 to \$15, and now is rarely less than \$40 to \$60. The prices asked by Bodoni, the Italian printer in the first quarter of this century, were twice and thrice as much as those of the elder Aldus. However, this adverse criticism was very fortunate for the people, in that it led to his invention of the Italic system.

His learning won the hearty praises of ripe scholars, nor did any student of the age express more fully his deep sense of the dignity conferred by learning on the soul of man. He called his Greek works the fruits of the Academy, but no man could have known better than he that his own genius was the life and spirit of the undertaking. His manuscripts were as open to the instruction of scholars as his printed books were to the public. Neither he nor his sons lived to see the benefits that he hoped would follow a wider study of classic texts. His work did not bring to Venice the ideal republic of Plato, for in 1520 Greek studies began to decline, as though exhausted by the enormous energy wherewith Florence had acquired and Venice disseminated such culture. To us far greater was his reach, in that he secured this literature

against the possibility of destruction and made it easy for Grocyn and Linacre to transplant the erudition beyond the Alps. Perhaps no more fitting tribute is left us of him than that of Musurus in the preface of the Greek grammar, published after the death of Aldus. Musurus deplores the loss of his friend, "a man of rare moral qualities, modest, just with his workers, generous with his enemies, in possession of the confidence of the wisest and most distinguished men of the age, feasted by the princes, lauded by the nobles,—all, for his effort to introduce in all Italy, and preserve to posterity, the famous works, annihilated by the Turks."

## Living in an Era of Rising Prices

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The country has scarcely recovered from the panic of 1907 and the depression of 1908, before, with the resumption of business activity, there is renewed complaint of the increase in the cost of living. In the spring of 1907, when general prices were reaching the highest point of a long and steady upward movement, newspapers and periodicals were full of discussions of the cause and effects of the general rise of nearly all commodity prices. The panic and the succeeding depression checked this rise of prices. But, in a surprisingly short time, the upward movement seems again to be in full swing, and prospects are that general prices will soon equal and exceed those recorded early in 1907.

The press has recently published some figures supplied by Bradstreet's Agency, which has been regularly recording wholesale prices for comparative purposes since 1892. It is computed by this agency that in the last thirteen years there has been an advance in the wholesale prices of commodities of about forty-nine per cent. This would indicate an even greater rise in retail prices. In reaching this result, the agency has made use of the wholesale market prices of 106 different commodities, including breadstuffs, clothing, textiles, dairy products, fuel, building materials, leather, and, in fact, all the articles that enter to any appreciable extent into the demands of householders. What is technically called an "index number" has been constructed. This has been done by adding together the prices of a small amount, usually one pound, of all the 106 commodities on certain dates chosen for comparative purposes. The resulting amount is thought to represent very roughly the level of prices at each date.

In 1892, just before the panic of 1893, the total cost of the chosen quantity of all of the 106 commodities was \$8.1382. In 1896, when the country was in the depths of the depression which followed the panic, the "index" price went down to \$5.7019. Then came an intermediate period, and later, just before the panic of 1907, prices reached their highest point, the total commodity

price being \$9.1293. In the summer of 1908 the price dropped to \$7.7227, and after that there came a gradual increase. In January of this year the "index" price was \$8.2631, while in August it was \$8.5039.

According to the summary of Bradstreet's figures, published in the *New York Times Financial Review*, there has been an increase in the wholesale market price of the group of breadstuffs, in the representative quantities, since 1896 from 5 to 10 cents; live stock, 18 to 38 cents; provisions, \$1.36 to \$2.08; fruits, 12 cents to 17 cents; hides and leather, 82 cents to \$1.25; textiles, \$1.57 to \$2.45; oils, 20 cents to 41 cents.

In 13 years the wholesale price of eggs has increased from 12 cents a dozen to 28 cents; mutton, 5 cents to 11 cents; bacon, 4 cents to 11 cents; butter, 15 cents to 27 cents, and potatoes, 75 cents per 180 pounds to \$1.75.

The United States Bureau of Labor has long been keeping a much more representative and scientifically constructed index number. This is based on the wholesale prices of about 250 carefully selected representative staple articles secured in leading markets of the United States. The price of each article on the list is obtained monthly, and later the average price for the year is completed. From the adding together of the average prices for the year of each of the commodities, the price of the whole list for any given year is obtained. The Bureau of Labor has averaged up the yearly totals of prices of the 10 years from 1890 to 1899, and taken the resulting average as the basis, and called it 100. The price of the list of commodities on any other year is stated as a percentage of this basis.

The writer has not at hand the Bureau of Labor's figures for the movement of prices since the panic of 1907, but the prior publications of the Bureau give a substantial confirmation of the facts as to the upward tendency of prices which is a noteworthy feature of recent economic history. In 1906 prices had reached a higher level than in any other year of the seventeen then covered by the Bureau's investigations. Remembering that the average of prices for the period from 1890 to 1899 is taken by the Bureau as a basis of 100, prices were the lowest in 1897 when the index number was 89.7. From that time the index number tended upward until it reached 122.4 in 1906. Or, taking the price level of

1897 as a basis, by 1906 prices had risen 36.5 per cent. The rise of prices has been unequal in various lines. Comparing the year 1890 with the year 1906, the price of farm products rose in the 10 years 57.9 per cent.; the price of food 34.4 per cent.; the price of cloths and clothing 31.4 per cent.; the price of fuel and lighting 24.2 per cent.; the price of metals and implements 44.3 per cent.; the price of lumber and building materials 50 per cent.; and so on. The average prices of 1906 were 35.4 per cent. higher than those of 1896. Farm products which could have been bought in 1896 for \$1.000 cost in 1906 \$1,579; an amount of food, which in 1896 was sold for \$1.000, was sold in 1906 for \$1.344; a thousand dollars spent in building materials in 1896 purchased as much as \$1,500 in 1906. Perhaps we may emphasize what has happened by getting rid of the terminology of dollars and putting the illustration in terms of gold which is our standard money. The coinage of gold being free, an ounce of gold will make, and is approximately equivalent to, \$20.67. So we may say that an equal quantity of farm products could have been bought for 48.38 ounces of gold in 1896 and for 76.39 ounces of gold in 1906; an equal quantity of food could have been bought for 48.38 ounces and 65.02 ounces in the two years respectively; and an equal quantity of building materials would have cost 48.38 ounces of gold in 1896 and 72.57 ounces in 1906.

While the foregoing facts show the upward movement of prices prior to the panic of 1907, later publications of the Bureau show the check given to rising prices by the recent depression. The index number may be expected to rise again with the resumption of the upward tendency of prices which the country is now experiencing.

All this has a serious meaning for millions of people. If wages and income do not rise equally with prices, or if they rise more slowly than prices, the efforts of the consumer to secure his accustomed necessities and comforts of life become increasingly difficult. The discussions which are becoming so frequent in newspaper and magazine articles and editorials reflect his anxious: "What is the matter? Why is it that everything is going up?" Consequently, it may be of some service to review here some of the causes to which the increased cost of living has been, or may be, attributed.

During the past summer we have heard a great deal about the tariff as the cause of high prices to the consumer. It is certainly true that the tariff makes possible in this country the maintenance of an artificially high level of prices for many commodities. But the general increase in prices has not been confined to the United States. A similar rise of prices has been recorded in Europe. It is also to be noted that the prices of such agricultural staples as cotton, wheat, and corn have shared in the advance. This could hardly be attributed to the tariff. Again, we have been living under the same tariff rates from 1897 to 1909. Prices have been steadily moving upward without any change in the tariff rates. So it would seem that, while the tariff makes possible a relatively higher level of prices for many commodities in this country than in some other countries, it is not the fundamental cause which is back of the general upward movement of practically all prices. Whatever that fundamental cause is, its influence is not confined to the United States.

Others have attributed the general rise of prices to the influence of trusts and monopolies. This cause may have been responsible for a rise in the prices of many commodities both in this country and abroad. In the United States the tariff may, in some cases, have favored the growth of industrial combinations which sought to advance prices. But here again we have a special cause applicable to certain particular instances. Prices have also risen in that large number of cases where the commodities are not susceptible of monopoly control. In fact, in many cases the prices of articles not controlled by monopolies have advanced to a greater extent than the prices of those controlled by monopolies. So, whatever may be true in various special cases, we cannot attribute the upward tendency of prices in general to trust and monopoly influence. Some more universal cause seems to be at work.

Another view of the matter is that presented by Mr. J. J. Hill in his striking address before the recent convention of the American Bankers' Association at Chicago. In the course of his speech, he said:

There are few more interesting chapters in history than those detailing the relation between industrial development, the food supply, and the growth and decline of political institutions and national greatness. Civilization is mostly the story of the triumph of the human stomach in its struggle for food equal to the work of physical and mental evolution.

Events and epochs that puzzled the historians of the past are explained by a study of common human experience. An economic cycle runs through all the affairs of men from the earliest times. There is a period of foundation laying, in which agriculture is the accepted resource of the State, and national strength is built upon it. Then the demand for an enlarged life stimulates the manufacturing and the commercial interests, and there ensues a period of great prosperity, which sees the rise of great fortunes, the relative decline of the food supply, the introduction of luxury, the growth of indolence, and a universal increase in prices. Never yet has this enhanced cost of living, when due to agricultural decline and inability to supply national needs, failed to end in national disaster. Prof. Ferrero, in his story of "The Greatness and Decline of Rome," after describing the agricultural depression of Italy, the ruin of her peasantry, and the distress of all classes that followed, attributes it "simply to the increased cost of living." This, rather than imperial ambition or race decay, is the key by which history unlocks the secrets of the past.

The situation, then, sums itself up thus: We have almost reached a point where, owing to increased population without increased production per acre, our home food supply will be insufficient for our own needs; within ten years, possibly less, we are likely to become a wheat-importing nation; the percentage of the population engaged in agriculture and the wheat product per acre are both falling; at the same time the cost of living is raised everywhere by this relative scarcity of bread, by artificial increase in the price of all manufactured articles, and by a habit of extravagance which has enlarged the view of both rich and poor of what are to be considered the necessities of life.

In Mr. Hill's remarks we find offered the essentials of a more general explanation of the increased cost of living. He thinks that the rapid development of the desire and taste for comforts and luxuries is drawing population from the country to the cities; that there are too few people engaged in agriculture and the production of raw materials, and that their work is not being done efficiently. Hence the relative scarcity of the foodstuffs needed to feed the swollen population of the cities, and also of the raw materials needed as a basis for the urban manufacturing industries. This explains the high prices of foodstuffs and raw materials as due to a maladjustment and inefficient use of our productive forces. High prices of raw materials must increase the cost of manufactured articles. Added to this is the advance in the price of many manufactured articles due to tariff favors and monopoly influence. And accompanying all this Mr. Hill pictures a people possessed by a spirit of extravagance developed



among those who have accumulated great fortunes and fast spreading among people of smaller means. In this view, the increase in the cost of living springs from the effects of sociological and psychological forces which have been altering the pursuits, habits, and character of our people. This explanation is certainly of a more fundamental kind and broader in its application than the others which have been discussed.

Another view is that of many students of monetary problems who attribute the general rise in prices to a great and continued expansion of the world's monetary medium due to the marked increase of gold production in recent years. Such students are supporters of what is called by economists the "quantity theory of money." Admitting many necessary qualifications of their position which would have to be set forth in a technical economic essay, they yet claim that the fundamental cause of the general rise of prices has been the unexampled addition of new gold to the world's monetary supply. They claim that, when the varying conditions of the use of credit, of the rapidity of circulation, and of the volume of exchanges have all been given due consideration, the fact remains that the amount of gold used as money has increased with such disproportionate rapidity as to prove much more than enough to maintain old levels of prices. They believe that the abundance of new gold has brought about such an added demand for goods as to force prices steadily upward in all civilized countries. Admitting the great importance of such considerations as those advanced by Mr. Hill, the writer adheres to the belief that the unprecedented production of gold has been the principal cause of the general rise in prices.

The facts regarding this increase in the world's gold production are most remarkable. Especially of recent years has the yield of the yellow metal increased by leaps and bounds. In 1907 more gold was produced than in any year since the world began. The amount for that year has been officially stated as about \$410,500,000. This may be compared with a total production of \$495,500,000 for the five years from 1881 to 1885. The following are approximate figures of annual gold production for the world:

1891-1895, average per annum .....	\$163,000,000
1896-1900, average per annum .....	257,000,000
1901.....	262,000,000
1902.....	297,000,000
1903.....	326,000,000
1904.....	347,000,000
1905.....	380,000,000
1906.....	402,000,000
1907.....	410,500,000

In 1890 the gold production from mines in the United States was \$33,000,000. In 1895 it was \$47,000,000; in 1900 \$79,000,000; in 1905 \$86,000,000; in 1906 \$94,000,000; and in 1907 \$90,500,000. In the period of seventeen years it increased almost three-fold per annum.

This vast increase in the world's gold production has been made possible partly by the discovery and opening up of rich fields, such as those of Cripple Creek, Colorado; the Yukon and Nome districts of Alaska; and the great ore bodies of South Africa. But it has been even more due to the application of better engineering and scientific knowledge to gold mining. Industrial progress is more and more reducing gold mining to a business proposition of known costs and reasonably certain returns, similar to iron or copper mining. The venturesome gold hunter of popular romance, crudely washing out the rich sands or perhaps by good fortune coming upon some nugget of fabulous value, is ever becoming less and less of a figure in real life; he has been succeeded by the great mining corporation, commanding in its efforts to wrest treasure from Mother Nature every resource of mechanical, chemical, and engineering skill.

But how does the new gold exercise its economic effect? How does it find its way into all the marts of trade, and influence the commerce and business of the nations? The persons who have the new gold can get no good of it except by using it. In modern times and in civilized countries they will neither hoard it nor hide it, but in the ordinary course of events it will be brought to the mints of the world and made into coin or commercial bars. It will then be spent for commodities and lands, for shares or securities of business enterprises, or be directly deposited in banks.

If certain men who have gone to Alaska as miners, come back

to the States well supplied with gold, they naturally use part of it in purchasing for themselves and their families lands and houses, and the comforts and luxuries of life. The gold which they bring back would never have been felt as a demand for goods, if it had not been taken from the mines of Alaska. But it is felt, and, directly or through its influence upon credit agencies, it tends to increase general prices in the communities in which the miners trade. The demand of these communities upon other centers of trade extends the upward influence upon commodity prices. If the new gold be sufficient in quantity, its influence may in this way, and, in others which we shall soon mention, raise the price level of a whole country. High prices in a country will stimulate imports from low price countries and discourage exports to those countries. A balance of trade is created against the high price country, and it must send gold abroad to pay. Thus the new gold finds its way into foreign countries, and, if the quantity be large enough, the effect will extend gradually over the whole commercial world.

Under the complex industrial and financial institutions of the modern world, such effects as we have been describing are produced more by indirect methods than by the direct demand of returning miners for commodities. Where gold mines are owned by great corporations and worked by low grade and cheap labor, as in South Africa, the new gold comes largely into the possession of wealthy mine owners. It will hardly add much to their demand for the comforts and the luxuries of life. They are already well supplied. But it is very likely to add to the demand for securities. It tends to advance the price of old and well-known securities, perhaps often to facilitate the watering of the stock of established enterprises, and to create a market for the sale of the securities of such new and promising enterprises as are just being launched.

In our day, by far the most potent effect of the new gold is exercised through its flow into the vaults of banks. If bankers and business men be hopeful for the future, rapidly increasing reserves will mean easy credit. The existence of favoring conditions of business prospects and credit will stir the imagination of energetic industrial leaders, and they will boldly undertake new productive enterprises which promise attractive returns. There results a largely increased demand for all sorts of materials and

for labor. Those employed in the new enterprises, or directly or indirectly drawing profits from them, are enabled to increase their demand for the comforts and necessities of life. So the increased demand comes to be felt by the producers of food, clothing, household furnishings and general merchandise. The prices of existing supplies advance, and producers plan to increase their output. Gradually the stimulating effect of the new conditions is diffused through all branches of industry. All production moves with quickened pace. The construction of new buildings and manufacturing plants adds to the demand for the metals, and for lumber, brick, and all classes of building materials and machinery. Soon the railroads find that their facilities for transportation are taxed to the utmost, and that they must have new trackage, larger terminals, and increased equipment of locomotives and cars. The new demand outruns supply, and all kinds of prices go up. This advance in prices is, of course, not uniform. In many lines of business the effect may not be apparent for several years. But gradually, though unevenly, the stimulating influence makes itself felt throughout the whole business community. Industry proceeds at a quickened pace, but ever subject to being disturbed or halted by such mischances as crop failures, misdirected production, or over-speculation. Such a halt in our industrial prosperity occurred in 1907 and 1908, but the recovery has proved to be unusually rapid.

Naturally, there will be inquiry as to the effect of such a period of rising prices as we are now experiencing upon the welfare of the various classes in society. If we divide men into two classes of debtors and creditors, rising prices favor debtors at the expense of creditors. This is especially true of obligations which have some considerable time to run. The purchasing power of money is less when a debt is repaid than it was when the debt was originally contracted. When the creditor receives repayment in dollars equal to the number of dollars loaned, he finds that he cannot buy as many commodities with the money received as he could have purchased when he loaned it. For instance, the man who loaned a thousand dollars thirteen years ago and receives it back today finds that he can buy only two-thirds or three-fourths as much building material as he could have bought with the same money when the debt was contracted. If he wishes to buy

food, or farm products, or machinery, he finds himself at a similar disadvantage. Of course, this is an extreme illustration, but the same thing is also true, in a lesser degree, of short time indebtedness.

The class of employers and directors of industry are usually debtors doing business with borrowed money. As such, they will especially enjoy the benefits of a period of rising prices. To them the expansion of the money supply and the consequent expansion of credit means an increasing demand for their goods at higher prices. They find it comparatively easy to provide for their debts. To be sure, raw materials at such times advance in price, but a fresh rise in prices of finished products more than meets this extra cost of production. A continuance of such conditions is likely to stimulate the enterprise and energy of business leaders. The economic causes which are at the bottom of exceptional prosperity may not be consciously present to the minds of business men, but such causes are none the less potent in producing a general spirit of optimism. Active business men are likely to be well content with abundant profits in gold dollars and to give little thought or attention to considerations based upon the fact that gold has a smaller purchasing power in commodities than it formerly had. Rising prices and easy credit stir the imagination, encourage enterprise, and quicken the pace of industry. Falling prices have a contrary effect.

The farmers—the directors of agricultural industry—profit greatly by the progressive rise in prices. General activity and prosperity means that more cotton, more wheat, and more corn will be wanted and at better prices. Some of the farmer's increased returns are taken in the higher prices he has to pay for manufactured articles he uses. But on the whole he has a greater surplus than before. This he may put in the banks, or use in the purchase of additional comforts of life, or spend in improving his farm, or in buying new land, or he may pay off old mortgages and debts. Recent agricultural prosperity has been especially favorable to the paying off of farm mortgages. Here we have an excellent illustration of the way in which rising prices have favored debtors. If a farmer has borrowed \$1,000 in a year when wheat was selling at 50 cents a bushel, he has received the equivalent of 2,000 bushels of wheat. If several years later he finds

that his wheat sells at \$1 a bushel, he is able to pay off the mortgage with what he receives for only 1,000 bushels of wheat. Similar conditions hold true of other agricultural products.

The wage-earning classes are at first losers in a period of rising prices. They are creditors for their wages, and they find that the established rate of pay for their labor will not buy as many of the necessities and comforts of life as formerly. There is likely to be much delay and friction before they can succeed in getting their wages advanced. When they get an increase, it is quite likely that it may not be as great proportionately as has been the advance in prices. But after a time their loss is at least partially, and sometimes wholly, remedied. The general prosperity of employers and the multiplicity of new enterprises increases the demand for labor. The keener competition for labor-supply results in the offer of higher pay. In time there must be a general rise of wages throughout the business community.

A class of people who will inevitably suffer a loss in times of rising prices consists of those who get their living from fixed incomes from investments or other sources. The bondholder who lives on his interest finds that with rising prices his fixed income will not buy so much as formerly. Widows and orphans will not gain from their trust investments so great a real return in the comforts and necessities of life. Those who have left active business and are living on conservatively invested wealth, earned in the past or inherited from the industry of others, will find the purchasing power of their returns lessened. Universities and colleges, philanthropic and charitable institutions, will find the income from their endowment funds less adequate than formerly. If they cannot find new sources of financial support, their work will suffer and the salaries of those employed by them will remain fixed while every cost of living increases. Fortunately, in the United States this latter effect of rising prices has been to a large extent obviated by the princely gifts to education and philanthropy made by those who are actively connected with business life.

In general, a period of rising prices seems to favor those classes which are actively engaged in the production of fresh wealth, and to be detrimental to those who are living on endowments, investments, or fixed returns of any kind. On the whole, if we cannot

have an absolutely stable money standard, there are advantages in having one which favors those who are actively engaged in new wealth production. Gently rising prices will mean prosperity to active business men. The danger lies in so rapid an inflation of prices as to cause over-speculation, the sinking of capital in unsound enterprises, misdirected production, and so ultimately reaction and financial disaster.

Is the price level to advance even beyond that of the present day? If the theory here supported is valid, future gold production will have a great influence in determining the answer. No facts are at hand which seem to indicate an abatement of the production of this metal, although it is possible that rising prices may increase the cost of working some low grade ore deposits to the extent of causing a discontinuance of the operation of such mines. In any event, we cannot look for so marked a rise of prices, due to the future increase in the world's supply of gold, as seems to have taken place in recent years. The volume of business to be transacted is now vastly greater than it was twelve or thirteen years ago, and it is being conducted on a scale of general prices thirty or forty per cent. higher. And, with the stock of gold in the world very largely increased, future annual additions are likely to be a smaller percentage of the existing stock, and hence to have a less marked effect upon the general level of prices.

## BOOK REVIEWS

MONEY AND CREDIT INSTRUMENTS IN THEIR RELATION TO GENERAL PRICES. By Edwin Walter Kemmerer. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1907,—xi., 160 pp.

Not many years ago it would have been difficult to find a writer on the money question absolutely free from the bias of party politics. A wholly impartial attitude, even toward the theoretical problems most remote from practical consequences, was seldom observed. To those students of economics who have received their training since the passions of the silver movement cooled, it seems almost incredible that sincere scholars should have consented to a manifest subordination of logic to the exigencies of political pamphleteering. We shall, however, judge these scholars more sympathetically when a newer and freer generation of economists shall show how many of the principles we ourselves cherish are rooted in party interest. In the meantime we may congratulate ourselves that the recent literature on money, of which Professor Kemmerer's book is an excellent type, is governed wholly by fact and logic. Professor Kemmerer's purpose is to determine the degree of validity of the classical "quantity theory of money," and its applicability to modern business conditions.

The essay consists of two books, the first of which gives a brief, but scholarly, review of the history of the quantity theory and an analysis of the reasoning upon which it is based; the second, a statistical treatment of the facts in which verification of the theory is sought. The method of Book I. is to construct an hypothetical society upon the simplest foundations, and gradually to complete the concept by the introduction of elements of increasing complexity. From a society in which exchanges are effected entirely through a homogeneous monetary medium we are led step by step to a society in which exchange presents all the complexities of modern business. The conclusion to which the author is forced by his reasoning is that "a change in the total circulating medium, money and checks combined, is accompanied under like conditions by a proportionate variation in prices" (p. 76).



This is, of course, the quantity theory of money, stated in such a way as to command the acceptance of practically all modern adherents of the theory. "Under like conditions"—i. e., with no change in the number or kind of commodities produced or in the methods of their production and exchange—price changes are the direct and measurable result of changes in the volume of the circulating medium.

The question at issue between the adherents of the quantity theory and their opponents may, essentially, be stated as follows: Does an expansion of the total circulating medium precede and condition a rise in prices, or does a rise in prices precede and occasion an expansion of the circulating medium? Were metallic money the sole medium of exchange, the question would hardly be debatable. But in view of the fact that far the greater part of the circulating medium of a modern society consists of credit instruments, the volume of which readily expands or contracts, the question demands earnest consideration. Is it not possible that psychological and sociological forces may, independently of any preceding change in the circulating medium, occasion a rise in general prices? And is it not possible that such a rise, increasing as it must the money-value volume of bankable property, would occasion an expansion of credits, or, what is the same thing, an increase in the circulating medium? It does not appear to the reviewer that Professor Kemmerer has given due weight to these possibilities. Perhaps he would urge that these questions overlook his qualification "under like conditions." But it might then be said that "under like conditions" begs the whole question at issue.

It is with misgivings that the reader approaches Book II. of Professor Kemmerer's essay. To submit subtle questions of economic theory to the arbitrament of statistics is like submitting abstruse philosophical questions to a popular vote. There is, moreover, no field in which so many mere guesses are drafted into service as in the statistics of money and credit. Professor Kemmerer has handled the fact and guesses as well, probably, as this can be done. The only net result, however, of his patient labor of compilation and computation is that there is a rough parallelism between the expansion and contraction of the total circulating medium, on the one hand, and the rise and fall of general prices,

on the other—a result as useful to the one party to the theoretical controversy as to the other.

The book closes with a list of authorities consulted, which would serve very well as a working bibliography for students of the money question.

ALVIN S. JOHNSON,  
*University of Texas.*

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GIANT DAYS; OR, THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD. By J. E. D. Shipp, A. B. Southern Printers, Americus, Ga., 1909., 266 pp.

To tell the story of William H. Crawford is a worthy ambition, for he is one of those Southern leaders, influential in national as well as local affairs, whose biography has remained unwritten. The difficulties of such a task are unusually formidable. Much of the Crawford correspondence has been lost, the national issues of his time are interwoven with questions of personal leadership, and the contemporaneous memoirs and records are full of prejudice against him. These conditions demand of a biographer a successful search for manuscript sources, a study of Crawford's relation to his section, and an interpretation of his place in the stream of national life at a time of unusual political cross-currents.

In meeting the first of these requirements the author of "Giant Days" has done well. Many letters and manuscripts of Crawford are rescued from oblivion. Besides those quoted in the text, there is an appendix containing thirty odd pages of such source material. Considerable light is thrown on Crawford's relation to some of his contemporaries, and the diary written during his foreign mission gives an interesting comment on conditions in Paris. Yet some letters and impressions of Crawford seem to have been overlooked, notably those in the Monroe manuscripts and the works of Gallatin. The second task of the Crawford biographer is also worthy of commendation, for the account of Crawford's relation to Georgia politics is clear and impressive, removing many misconceptions of his early career. But the secret of his influence on the South at large, or the extent of that influence, is not explained.

It is the third problem of the biographer, to interpret the place of the man in national affairs, which is done with least success. This is unfortunate, for Crawford was primarily a national figure, more important in national affairs than in the politics of his own

State. Why did he have a stronger hold on the politicians than the people, and to what purpose and extent did he use the patronage of the Treasury Department? These questions are unanswered except for a criticism of Mr. Roosevelt's reflection on the four-year-tenure-of-office act of 1820, a criticism which might have been made shorter by reference to Fish's "Civil Service and the Patronage." Crawford's relations with his contemporaries are not fully treated; his quarrels with Calhoun and Edwards are described, but his breach with Monroe in 1822 is not mentioned, nor the process by which his followers were transferred to the Jackson standard after his defeat for the Presidency. More serious than these omissions is the failure to explain Crawford's attitude towards some of the large issues of his day. His defeat in 1824 cannot be attributed to physical decline alone; certainly his ambiguous position on the tariff and his evasion of Congressional power to aid internal improvements cost him considerable support in the South and made some States of other sections lukewarm. Finally, was Crawford, the nationalist on his entrance into public affairs, a reactionary in 1824? Was he reverting to the earlier States rights doctrines of the early days of the Republic?

These questions are still in the mind after reading Mr. Shipp's book; but they should not leave an impression that it is without merit. A large amount of information is brought together, many manuscripts are copied into the text and the appendix, and a beginning made toward the rehabilitation of one of the most important leaders in our early political history.

W. K. BOYD.

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THE BASIS OF ASCENDANCY. A DISCUSSION OF CERTAIN PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC POLICY INVOLVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTHERN STATES. By Edgar Gardner Murphy. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909,—xxiv., 250 pp.

When some years ago Mr. Edgar Gardner Murphy published his remarkable volume on "The Present South," he expressed the hope that another similar volume might soon follow. The fulfilment of that hope has been delayed by ill health and the pressure of other duties. In the meantime, Mr. Murphy has become convinced "that this second volume of essays should be preceded by a more explicit statement of those principles of fundamental

policy which both the collections of essays were intended to illustrate." As the result of this decision, we have the present volume on "The Basis of Ascendancy." The second series of papers will, however, ultimately be published under the title of "Issues, Southern and National." In this future volume, there will be found a discussion of many specific subjects—"such as agricultural education, the negro school, the lynching problem, the problem of child labor, compulsory education, suffrage restriction, the new federalism, etc."

The present volume is an abstract discussion of some of the elementary principles upon which the policies of the State ought to be based in determining the relations of the two racial groups which are in inevitable contact upon the soil of the South. As an abstract discussion, it will doubtless not command so large a body of readers as the volumes dealing with concrete problems. But understanding of, and agreement upon, principles is of the utmost importance as a preliminary step to constructive efforts. So Mr. Murphy's book must receive a hearty welcome from all those who are unwilling to attack a difficult problem without a clear idea of the conditions under which they are working and of the end at which they may reasonably hope to arrive.

Mr. Murphy is not one of those who underestimate the meaning of race. He recognizes the fact that we live today in "a world in which races are not upon a par—either in their social or industrial efficiency." A sound policy must be based on conditions as they are. At the same time he warns against giving "the fact of race a disproportionate significance." He believes that many of the facts, which now indicate the weakness of the negro group and which cause grave apprehension, may be found not to be a necessary and permanent incident to race membership, but may be at least partially removable under favoring ethical, political, and social forces. Conceding that the negro's position is in part due to the fact that he is a negro, he yet asks how far his position is also due to the fact that he has not in many respects been subjected to conditions favorable to his progress. It is in this spirit that Mr. Murphy, writing as a Southerner to the South, seeks to present a basis for race relations which will preserve the individuality of each race, but at the same time accord to the weaker race favorable opportunity for its own peculiar development.

It is a policy of construction rather than of repression that is advocated in this volume. The author conceives that the welfare of the stronger as well as of the weaker race depends upon the building up of negro racial pride and integrity. The principles upon which he proceeds would enforce it upon the South as a statesmanlike policy to use the "integrating force of opportunity" to develop the individuality of the negro race and to enable it to realize to the utmost the possibilities of its acquired and inherited qualities.

These are wise and hopeful papers, and they bring the clear light of a dispassionate mind to bear upon conditions of great difficulty. To noble and upbuilding thought is added the charm of worthy expression. Here the South may find intellectual leadership marked by wide vision, absolute fairness, and a deep moral sense.

W. H. G.

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KING ALFRED'S JEWEL. By the author of "Mors et Victoria." The John Lane Company, New York.

"King Alfred's Jewel" is a historical drama by the author of "Mors et Victoria," itself a historical drama which, on its publication some years ago, won considerable praise. Like "Mors et Victoria" the present play is published anonymously, but in connection with a second edition the publisher recently announced as its author Mrs. Spencer Trask. Mrs. Trask was already known as the author of "The Little Town of Bethlehem," which, at the time of its publication, was liberally praised by literary critics and has since been performed with marked success by the Ben Greet players.

Freeman, the competent historian of early England, has called Alfred the most perfect man of history; and he may, I think without undue exaggeration, be regarded as among the most perfect men of action that have ever lived. In the long line of English kings he stands first in time and first in ideals. His deeds and lovable character have from the first bulked large in English traditions. "Shepherd of the Angles," "England's Darling" are terms of endearment that often recur and best express the image of Alfred that has persisted in popular tradition. The career of a hero of the English race like Alfred furnishes uncommonly attractive material for the historical drama. Many inferior sovereigns have been adequately treated in English literature, but Alfred has not

been; and there was room for this latest attempt. The attempt may unhesitatingly be pronounced a success.

The action of the piece is placed at the crisis of Alfred's career—at the period following the defeat of the Danes at Chippenham and his subsequent victory over them at Aller,—and opportunity is given for him to express his feelings about the sad condition of his people and his hopes for their deliverance from foreign foes and the blighting curse of ignorance:

“What is done—is done;  
And should again the dusky raven dare  
Upon our hearthstones its dark shadow cast,  
Or hide our altars 'neath its ebon wings,  
Then will I fight again as I have fought;  
But proud ambition's call I follow not,  
Nor yield to lust of conquest or of fame,  
For Fame is but the vaunting of this world.  
A glorious fate for England I foresee;  
But ere she meets it, she must be remade.  
A lawless people, restless and unlearned,  
Surge through our border as the untamed surf  
Surges perpetually upon the shore.  
Swart and woe-ridden lies our fruitful land;  
Fierce lust of gain-getting possesses it;  
Heathen communication hath corrupted it,  
And senseless superstition holds the glass  
To blinking eyes disordered by the past.  
Naught bindeth a man's soul down to the dust  
As ignorance; naught can so dower his soul  
With deed of manumission—as to know.  
Poor England sits in moonless, starless night  
Beside a fast-closed door, unschooled, untaught;  
Men cannot read the words they say to God  
Nor read the words that God hath said to them;  
And yet, a little way beyond the door  
Is Light—and Wisdom waiting with his torch.  
Is it not better to teach men to think,  
To feed them with the eternal Bread of Life,  
Than it can be to lay them in the dust  
Silent and stark?”

In such lines as these (and there are so many of them that it is hard to resist quotation) the true Alfred is set forth, the great old English king neither glorified nor degraded. The style is especially notable for its justness of statement and felicity of phrasing.

W. F. F.

READINGS ON AMERICAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. Edited by Paul S. Reinsch. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1909,—xii., 850 pp.

This substantial volume has been prepared primarily for the use of university classes in American government. The readings have been selected almost entirely from the spoken or written work of "men actually engaged in the business of government,—presidents, legislators, administrative officers, and judges." Professor Reinsch has, however, included several articles of special value by such writers as Frederic Harrison, Albert Halstead, Henry Litchfield West, Francis C. Lowell, and Professor John A. Fairlie. The bulk of the material has been taken from the *Congressional Record*, and from official reports, messages, and public addresses. As a whole, the volume is a most comprehensive collection of well selected collateral reading on the various branches and departments of the federal government.

Teachers of government have often been confronted with the difficulty of making collateral reading convenient and available for the use of large classes. Even in the best equipped of libraries there are almost insurmountable obstacles to giving many students access to the same books and articles at the same time. This volume will afford a most welcome solution of the difficulty. Its use will add life to the dry bones of the text-book and give to the student the means of gaining a clearer comprehension of the actual working of the American government of today.

While this collection of readings is intended primarily for use with classes, it cannot fail to be of value to anyone who gives attention to public affairs. Many exceedingly interesting special articles have been included. As a work of reference, the volume will answer many of the questions that are constantly arising with regard to our national government. Here the citizen may find expert information with regard to such matters as mail fraud orders in the postoffice, forest reservations and the national forest policy, Senate secret sessions, Senatorial maiden speeches, Congressional leave to print, the House rules, the scientific work of the government, the employment of special agents, inland waterways, and other present day topics. Professor Reinsch's book should be welcomed, therefore, not only by teachers and students, but also by that wider circle of readers who are intelligently concerned with our national political affairs. G.

The first number of the *North Carolina Review*, to be issued monthly as a literary and historical section of the *Raleigh News and Observer*, appeared October 3. This new publication is under the managing editorship of Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission. He is assisted by an able body of associate editors, including Messrs. D. H. Hill, A. and M. College; E. K. Graham, University of North Carolina; J. G. de R. Hamilton, University of North Carolina; E. W. Sikes, Wake Forest College; T. W. Lingle, Davidson College; W. C. Smith, State Normal. In form the *North Carolina Review* is similar to the *New York Times Saturday Review*. The initial number presents a varied and interesting table of contents, and the *Review* gives promise of valuable service to the literary and historical interests of the State.

The Southern Appalachian Good Roads Convention, which is to be held in Asheville October 5 to 7, is worthy of especial note as a gathering of unusual distinction to forward a progressive movement. The definite object of the convention is to provide ways and means for the construction of a system of good roads in the Southern Appalachian country with connecting roads leading down into the Piedmont sections. Among the speakers announced are the governors of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee; Hon. James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture; Senator Lee S. Overman, of North Carolina; Judge J. C. Pritchard, of the United States Circuit Court; Representative J. H. Small, and many State officials and private citizens who are specially informed on the subject of good roads. The meeting will doubtless give a new impetus to good road construction in the States concerned.

One of the most recent text-books in economics is the "Introduction to Economics," written by Dr. Alvin S. Johnson, Professor of Economics in the University of Texas, and published by D. C. Heath & Co. This volume is reserved for more extended notice. Professor H. R. Seager, of Columbia University, has also prepared an "Economics, Briefer Course," which is based on his well-known and larger "Introduction to Economics."

That able London journalist and author, Mr. Clement K.



Shorter, has undertaken a regular semi-monthly English literary letter for *The Dial*. Probably no one in London is more closely in touch with the world of books and authors than Mr. Shorter; certainly no one is able to write of them more informingly and entertainingly. Mr. Shorter's first letter appears in *The Dial* for October 1.

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